VERGIL'S AGRICULTURAL GOLDEN AGE

A STUDY OF THE GEORGICS

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PATRICIA A. JOHNSTON

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BY

PATRICIA A. JOHNSTON

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Γεωργῷ

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PREFACE

The *Georgics* have tended to be the last of Vergil's works to which a reader turns. Critical scholarship, too, of the *Georgics* has been considerably less extensive than that devoted to Vergil's other works. One reason for their neglect may be the difficulty readers have had responding to their central topic, agriculture. Many critics who have dealt with the poem, moreover, influenced perhaps by Hesiod's treatment of this topic, have tended to see in it an emphasis on the harshness of agricultural labors rather than on the rewards of the farmer's life.

My own interpretation of the poem came about somewhat circuitously, for I began my investigation not with the purpose of analyzing the *Georgics*, but rather with the purpose of examining Vergil's use of the golden age theme in his poetry as a whole. It soon became clear to me that his conception of a new golden age evolves to its final form in the *Georgics*, rather than in the *Aeneid*. Further examination of the *Georgics* showed that Vergil's evolving conception of such an age is a major factor in this poem, and that an understanding of this conception is prerequisite to understanding the *Georgics*, for here Vergil has merged two traditionally pessimistic topics and integrated them both into a single, optimistic theme.

This study includes an extensive revision of a portion of my doctoral dissertation, which was submitted to the Faculty of the University of California, Berkeley in 1975. The last three chapters represent new developments of the principles discovered in the original dissertation. I am grateful to Professor W. S. Anderson, who directed the dissertation, for his stimulating guidance and criticisms, and also to Professors W. R. Johnson and Alain Renoir for their invaluable guidance and encouragement.

I owe a special debt of gratitude to Professor Jan H. Waszink for his inspiring instruction when I was first discovering the world of classical scholarship, and for his continuing encouragement of my scholarly endeavors. I have also had the benefit of suggestions from Professors Helen Caldwell, David S. Wiesen, Jean D'Amato, David A. Traill, and John J. Winkler, as well as those unseen reviewers who have read and commented upon this manuscript.

I hope they will conclude that I have done justice to their thoughtful criticisms, particularly those which I have accepted. The University of California Press has very kindly permitted me to include in this publication those sections of Chapter V which first appeared in Volume 10 (1977) of *California Studies in Classical Antiquity.* The publication of this book has been supported in part by the generosity of Brandeis University. I am especially grateful, in this regard, to Dean Jack S. Goldstein and Professor Leonard C. Muellner.

I have dedicated this book to my husband, George, whose ceaseless encouragement, understanding, and belief in the value of my work have been my mainstay: *hinc me sustinet.*

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

"Alle Völker, die eine Geschichte haben, haben ein Paradies, einen Stand der Unschuld, ein goldnes Alter. . . ."

F. Schiller, *Naive und Sentimentalische Dichtung*

A frequent theme in Greek literature was the mythical time known as a golden age. Like the Biblical Paradise, it was a time of innocence and simplicity. Mortals enjoyed a leisured existence. A beneficent earth provided all their needs. They knew no toil, no pain, no sorrow.

The golden age, however, also bore a sad connotation, for it inevitably belonged to a lost, distant past. Mortals would never again know such a happy time. The first account of the golden age, in Hesiod's *Works and Days*, bears this negative tone. There Hesiod laments the current, harsh life of the Boeotian farmer, as opposed to the happy existence of the blessed, golden race. His lament echoes through Greek literature, every reference to that happy time stirring sad, even bitter memories of its loss.

At Rome, after Antony's victory at Philippi over Brutus and Cassius, the theme of the golden age becomes increasingly popular in Latin literature. At first the sense of loss remains, as in Horace's Sixteenth *Epode*, where the poet in desperation urges escape with him to the *arva beata*, a blessed retreat where the privileges of the golden age are reserved for pious men. It is a desperate summons, like that of Tennyson's Ulysses, without any real hope that such a place will ever be found.

At about the same time that Horace composes this *Epode*, Vergil dramatically proclaims in his Fourth *Eclogue* that a new golden age is about to begin. His optimism is a striking reversal of the melancholy gloom which tended until then to accompany references to a golden age. Here Vergil predicts a new golden age which will be similar to the golden age described by Hesiod. This new age, which will begin with the birth of an unnamed child, will be marked by freedom from war. Toil will cease, as will trade, for every land will spontaneously provide all mortal needs.

Vergil's conception of such an age is characterized in the Fourth

Eclogue by qualities which, as in Hesiod's conception, still restrict it to a mythical setting. Yet his optimism suggests he at least wants to believe that such an age may once again occur. The recurrence of such an age is tied to the birth of the child, and the chronological context of the myth is also changed; both these modifications of the traditional myth lend a certain degree of credibility to the claim that the age will recur.

Vergil's optimism regarding this theme subsequently influences the perspective of his contemporaries concerning such an age, as will be seen. The theme itself, moreover, becomes the hallmark of the reign of Augustus, and is even reflected on monuments of that period.

The golden age of the Fourth *Eclogue,* however, is much too fanciful to be considered for long a serious possibility. Vergil himself appears to have been keenly aware of the limitations of this theme, based as it is on a total freedom from toil for all mankind. Such an age continued to appeal strongly to him, as his later works reveal. It appears again in the *Georgics* and in the *Aeneid,* but, as a close examination will show, Vergil's conception of this age evolves in such a way that the poet is now able to bring this age out of the realm of myth, into the realm of semi-historicity, under the rule of a semi-historical figure. He now proposes that such an age will be based upon an agricultural economy and therefore can happen again in his own time under another ruler.

Since the idea of a golden age is traditionally a mythical one, Vergil begins by modifying the mythological details of this theme. Among the more striking details which Vergil modifies are the chronology surrounding the golden age, the characterization of the ruler of the golden age, and the depiction of the golden race itself.

Vergil modifies the chronology as early as the Fourth *Eclogue,* where the traditional linear chronology is replaced by a pattern of periodic renewal. The harsh character of Saturnus, the ruler of the golden age, is softened in the *Georgics,* and this god is seen farming Roman soil. Saturnus' relationship to agriculture and to the golden age is subsequently confirmed at greater length in the *Aeneid.* The mythical golden race of the Fourth *Eclogue* is replaced by the more economically viable farmer in the *Georgics* and in the *Aeneid.* The mythical race of the Fourth *Eclogue,* on the other hand, also flourishes in the *Georgics,* but in a curiously altered form. This

new golden race now eagerly mimics the activity of the farmer, reaping a golden crop, delighting in what appears to be the spontaneous bounty of nature. The bees of the fourth *Georgic*, in short, become the realization of the mythical race prophesied by Vergil in his earlier, messianic poem. They retain all the favorable advantages of the traditional golden age, but none of the negative qualities which Vergil identifies when he first rejects the toil-free, Hesiodic golden age, which will here be referred to as the "metallic" golden age, as opposed to Vergil's emerging conception, which we shall call an "agricultural" golden age.

Once Vergil has indicated these two extremes, namely the divine ruler of the "metallic" golden age who now becomes a farmer in Italy, and the miniature farmers, the honey-bees, he concludes his poem with the epyllion of the ideal human farmer, Aristaeus, who will become a god because of his agricultural benefactions. As will be seen, the life of the ideal farmer is set in sharp contrast to a more primitive, less stable mode of life, which in fact bears some relationship to the now-rejected ideal of a "metallic" golden age.

Since it is in the *Georgics* that the conception of the golden age evolves from a metallic to an agricultural theme, we may well ask how central is the golden age theme itself to the *Georgics*. The basic subject of the poem, as the title indicates, is clearly agriculture. For Romans, agriculture signified not only the cultivation of the soil, but all the other activities of the self-sufficient farmer as well.[1] Vergil thus begins his poem with a brief summary of the agricultural arts about which he will write: the cultivation of grain, of the vine, of herds, and of bees. The poetic brilliance with which he treats these mundane topics tends to distract the reader, with the result that the main thread of the narrative is sometimes forgotten. As a result, differing views as to what constitutes its underlying unity have been formed.

Although Merivale observed, in the nineteenth century, that the poem tended to glorify labor,[2] the more usual tendency was to interpret the poem as a loosely descriptive collection of didactic material which was treated poetically, with occasional light digres-

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[1] For a thorough study of this subject, cf. K. D. White, *Roman Farming* (London 1970).

[2] C. Merivale *apud* J. Conington-H. Nettleship, *The Works of Vergil*, rev. by F. Haverfield (1898), 5th ed., I, 158, and W. Y. Sellar, *The Roman Poets of the Augustan Age*: *Virgil* (1876, 3rd ed., 1897) 211.

sions. Conington began, in addition, to treat the *Georgics* as poetic criticism of Vergil's didactic antecedents, particularly of Hesiod, Aratus, Nicander, and Lucretius.[3] Sellar interpreted the *Georgics* as Vergil's attempt to produce a poetic reconciliation between the "primitive piety" and the mythological associations of Hesiod, and the subsequent "more enlightened views of moral and physical truth." Sellar recognized that, despite his spiritual and poetic debt to Hesiod, Vergil's poetic methods of imitation, in particular his use of allusions through local epithets, recondite mythological and astronomical allusions, and metonymy, were more directly traceable to Alexandrian poets. Sellar also detected strong antagonism in Vergil's echoes of Lucretius.[4] Since Sellar, critics have tended to agree that when Lucretius' philosophic views find their way into the *Georgics*, they are greatly modified, even transformed in Vergil's application of these views.[5]

More recently, literary criticism of the *Georgics* has tended to follow, in varying degrees, two opposing schools of thought. One school continues the earlier trend toward an interpretation which sees the poem as primarily descriptive, with a structural principle based upon an artistic synthesis of form and movement, frequently expressed in musical terms. This "descriptive" school of interpretation does not attempt to fit the so-called digressions into an overall unity, but instead emphasizes the principles of contrast and balance, light and dark, joy and sorrow. Wilkinson is a particularly strong advocate of this school of interpretation.[6]

The other school seeks to identify a source of unity in the poem, relying on the symbolic significance of Vergil's so-called digressions, as well as poetical devices such as antitheses and frames or rings. Burck [7] initiated this approach by examining the organic nature of

[3] Conington, 135-63.

[4] Sellar, 190-279, especially 193-97.

[5] Sellar, 199 ff.; B. Farrington, "Virgil and Lucretius," *AC* 1 (1958) 45-50; *idem*, "Polemical Allusions to the *de rerum natura* of Lucretius," *Geras*: *Studies Presented to George Thomson* (Prague 1963) 87-94; R. R. Dyer, "Ambition in the *Georgics*: Vergil's Rejection of Arcadia," *Auckland Classical Essays Presented to E. M. Blaiklock* (Oxford 1970) 143-64; M. Wigodsky, *Vergil and Early Latin Poetry* (Hermes Einzelschrift 24, 1972), 132 ff. E. A. Schmidt, *Poetische Reflexion, Vergils Bukolik*, München 1972, 217 ff.

[6] For additional references, see L. P. Wilkinson, *The Georgics of Virgil*: *A Critical Survey* (Cambridge 1969), 71-75 and App. I, 314-15.

[7] E. Burck, "Die Komposition von Vergils Georgica," *Hermes* 64 (1929) 179-321; *idem*, *Gnomon* (1959) 224-38 (rev. of W. Richter, *Vergil*: *Georgika*, 1957).

the poem in an attempt to identify its unity. He showed, in a general way, that Vergil's use of sources and arrangement of material fit into an organic whole. Büchner [8] further developed Burck's results and incorporated them into his text on Vergil, identifying the main theme of the poem as the farmer's eternal, "uncreative" struggle. In Büchner's view, the theme of success in the struggle is merely a leitmotif, doomed to be overwhelmed by the general pressure toward degeneration.

The cycle of nature, which inevitably dominates agricultural activity, can be viewed optimistically or pessimistically, depending on one's attitude toward farming and toward life in general. The question must be asked, however, whether Vergil would have written such a poem in order to emphasize the difficulty of farming, or whether he merely intended the negative aspects of this activity to set a backdrop for the positive aspects. The contrast between negative and positive aspects of farming adds markedly to the texture of the poem, which might otherwise have proved to be excessively even in its praise (or denigration, if one insists upon a pessimistic interpretation) of agricultural life. Klingner and Otis [1] follow the more optimistic approach, attempting to trace the symbolic character of the agricultural images and the relation of the so-called digressions to their context. They recognize the polyphonic composition of the poem, but they are also concerned with its symbolic scheme.

Klingner, like Burck, tends to emphasize the overall continuity whereas Otis attempts to identify its major symbols. Otis later acknowledged that his symbols ("work, play, and man's relation to nature in both, and beyond these, life, death, and rebirth") were too broad. He indicated that his chief concern was to show the bearing of this poem on Vergil's emerging style and thus on the *Aeneid*, and, in particular, how the Aristaeus epyllion developed from the first three books and how it was related in style and content to the *Aeneid*.[10]

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[8] K. Büchner, P. Vergilius Maro (1959) = *RE* VIIIA (1955) 243-45; Büchner's comment about the uncreative struggle of the farmer refers specifically to *G.* 1.43-203; see columns 246-46; cf. H. Altevogt, *Labor Improbus: Eine Vergilstudie* (Münster Westf. 1952) and R. Gandeva, "Die soziale Ideenrichtung der Georgica," *Studien zur Geschichte und Philosophie des Altertums* (ed. J. Harmatta) (Budapest-Amsterdam 1968) 145-61.

[9] F. Klingner, *Virgils Georgica* (1963); B. Otis, *Virgil: A Study in Civilized Poetry* (1963) 144-214.

[10] Otis, 146. For his later acknowledgement, see *Phoenix* 26 (1972) 40-62 (rev. of Wilkinson), especially p. 42.

All these patterns and symbols serve to enhance the main topic of the poem, the cultivation of fields and flocks. This topic is further enhanced by a subtle promise which runs throughout the poem, the implication that the farmer's activities will lead to a new golden age. The theme of a golden age is frequently mentioned with reference to the *Georgics*, but the function of the theme itself within the poem as a whole has never been extensively examined. An extended investigation of the theme as it is used in all of Vergil's works, moreover, instead of, say, the *Eclogues* alone, or the *Aeneid* alone, has never been made. As a result the consistent development of this theme in Vergil's thought has never been fully understood, nor has his conception of such an age been satisfactorily defined.

Consequently, many conflicting conclusions have been drawn about Vergil's use of the golden age theme. Most of these conclusions can be documented with one Vergilian citation or another, particularly if one assumes that Vergil had a fixed, static conception of such an age. Lovejoy, for example, interpreted the golden age as a period of "primitivism" and the golden race of the Fourth *Eclogue* as a rough equivalent of the "noble savages" of the third *Georgic*. Vergil's description of the end of the golden age in the first *Georgic* (1.121 ff.), however, persuaded Lovejoy that, although Vergil idealized the primitive race, his sympathies nevertheless tended toward anti-primitivism. Taylor extended Lovejoy's distinction between "hard" and "soft" primitivism by tracing several aspects of these distinctions in Vergil's works.

Wili, on the other hand, had noticed that Vergil's idea of a golden age was intertwined with the poet's concept of Justice, and that Vergil's concept of Justice was evolving in the course of his work, from an Hesiodic to a land-based idea of reciprocity. Ryberg thereafter observed that Vergil's conception of a golden age itself was developing in the course of his poetry, and in particular that the concept changed in the *Georgics* and was thereafter expanded in the *Aeneid*. Ryberg paid particular attention to the Stoic influence on his conception, as reflected in the "various arts" taught to mortals by Jupiter.[12] More recently, Buchheit, too, has recognized

[11] W. Richter, *Vergil: Georgika* (1957); V. Buchheit, *Der Anspruch des Dichters in Vergils Georgika* (1972), 184.

[12] A. O. Lovejoy and G. Boas, *A Documentary History of Primitivism and Related Ideas* (1935), 24 ff.; M. E. Taylor, "Primitivism in Virgil," *AJP* 76 (1955) 261-78; W. Willi, "Tellus Iustissima," in *Vergil* (1930) 59-64; I. S. Ryberg, "Vergil's Golden Age," *TAPA* 89 (1958) 112-31.

an evolution of the concept in Vergil's mind; he envisions Vergil's golden age as a blend of early Rome and the Hesiodic *aurea aetas*, which merge in the Vergilian Arcadia.[13]

A realization, then, that this theme is not a fixed notion for Vergil but rather one that gradually develops with the passage of time and events has been emerging. A close examination of the details of the concept as it evolves in Vergil's poetry will perhaps help to resolve what might appear to be inconsistencies in Vergil's thought processes with regard to this theme. It may also help to resolve apparent inconsistencies in the treatment of the theme by Vergil's contemporaries and successors.[14]

What exactly does Vergil envision when he alludes to a golden age? Since it is in the *Georgics* that the new concept emerges, moreover, what is the role of this theme in the poem? In this study, I shall attempt to identify Vergil's conception of such an age as evidenced in his works and, to a limited extent, in the works of his predecessors and contemporaries. I shall then attempt to determine the philosophic and poetic role that Vergil intended for this theme in his poem on agriculture, the *Georgics*.

[13] Buchheit, 161 ff.; 184; E. W. Leach, *Vergil's Eclogues: Landscapes of Experience* (1974); both Leach and W. Berg, *Early Virgil* (1974), it should be noted, identify "georgic" themes in the *Eclogues* which indicate a change of emphasis in Vergilian themes. Leach further observes that the countryside for Romans was a place where civilization and rural innocence join together, each revivifying the other. Her discussion, however, was limited to the *Eclogues*; it might well have extended to the *Georgics*.

[14] There has been an increasing appreciation in recent years of the need to avoid treating Greek mythology as a static tradition. The myths had their own dynamic force, to which the poet responded by applying or developing those myths he used in some new or unexpected direction. Compare B. Effe, "Die Destruktion der Tradition: Theokrits mythologische Gedichte," *RhM* 121 (1978) 48-77, who, after examining five mythological *Idylls*, concludes that Theocritus, while following tradition, nonetheless adds his own interpretation and extension of these myths. Tradition, as he concludes, serves as a well-known substratum which the artist continually develops. In an excellent article on this subject, F. Carter Philips, "Greek Myths and the Uses of Myths," *CJ* 7 (1979) 155-166, observes, "we really do not possess any myths . . . from the ancient Greeks at all; what we have are various *uses* of the myths within literature and art" (p. 157). This would explain why, as W. Frentz, *Mythologisches in Vergils Georgica* (1967), 132 ff., found, Vergil would tend to use the later, "Hellenistic" versions of myths in preference to the earlier ones; even these versions, however, are nevertheless transformed by the master poet.

CHAPTER TWO

THE CHRONOLOGICAL CONTEXT OF THE GOLDEN AGE

One of the crucial distinctions between Vergil's conception of a golden age and that of his predecessors is the fact that Vergil's golden age can recur. Even in the *Eclogues*, where Vergil still seems to envision Hesiod's metallic golden age, he nonetheless envisions a chronology surrounding the golden age which would allow for the possibility of recurrence.[1] In Hesiod's metallic myth, the golden race, once terminated, is replaced by inferior races. Hesiod's race of heroes interrupts an otherwise linear deterioration, such as Aratus and, later, Ovid, envisioned,[2] since Hesiod's race of heroes was superior to the silver race which it followed as well as to the race which it preceded. There is no possibility, however, in Hesiod or in successive versions of the myth, that the lost state of felicity can recur.

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[1] Vergil links the idea that the golden age can recur with a prophecy of the Sibylline oracle. Gatz, 87, accepts these oracles as the source of Vergil's idea of recurrence. The extant oracles (ed. A. Kurfess, *Sibyllinische Weissagungen*, Tusculum, 1951), which were edited under of Augustus' direction some time after 12 B.C. (Suet. *Aug.* 31.1), are probably not the same oracles to which Vergil refers. E. Norden, *Die Geburt des Kindes* (1924) associated the golden age theme of the poem with ancient Egyptian ruler-cults and with religious ideas of the ancient East and through the emphasis of theological statements retroactively legitimized the Christian significance of the poem. G. Jachmann, "Die vierte Ekloge Vergils," *Annali della scuola normale di Pisa* 21 (1952) 13-62, showed the fallacy of Norden's thesis, establishing that the details of the Fourth *Eclogue* are different from theological and astrological conceptions of the East and of Egypt. He showed that in this poem two concepts of a golden age are fused, one, based on the Sibylline oracle, about to begin immediately, and the other gradually developing golden age corresponding to the growth of the child. cf. C. Becker, "Virgils Eklogenbuch," *Hermes* 83 (1955) 328 ff.; K. Latte, *Römische Religionsgeschichte* (1960) 150-61; G. Williams, "Virgil's Fourth *Eclogue*," Grad. Theol. Un. (Berkeley 1973) *ad Ec.* IV. 4-7 and n. 5; W. Berg, *Early Virgil* (1974) 156 ff. The extant Sibylline oracles, however, tend to reflect the pessimism of Hesiod. Hesiod's prediction, for example, that the iron race will be destroyed when they come to have grey hair on their temples at birth is echoed in *Or. Sib.* II.155, which says that men are now born with grey hair. (One suspects that Thomas Hardy had Hesiod's dire prediction in mind when he depicted the young child of Jude and Arabella as "Age masquerading as Juvenility," *Jude the Obscure*, Signet Classics, 72.)

[2] K. Von Fritz, "Pandora, Prometheus, and the Myth of the Ages," *The Review of Religion* 11 (1947) 227-60.

Vergil, by contrast, consistently envisions a chronology wherein the golden age is preceded by a hard, primitive race of mortals, and followed by a period of deterioration. Out of the harsh condition which results from such deterioration, however, develops another hardy race of mortals which, given the proper circumstances and leader, has the possibility of building a new state of felicity, a new golden age. This chronology is particularly evident in cases where Vergil's chronology clashes with the more conventional sequence, as, for example, in Silenus' song in the Sixth *Eclogue*.[3]

Silenus' song begins with the creation of the world out of Chaos (*Ec.* 6.31-40). The account of the flood and the subsequent race of men grown from the stones of Pyrrha precede *Saturnia regna* (41), which are subsequently undermined by the theft of Prometheus (42). Prometheus' theft is the first indication of incipient degeneration; there follows the voyage of the Argonauts, and finally the total degeneration of the race, as represented by the tale of Pasiphae and her passion for the white bull as well as by subsequent mythological references. Finally Vergil comes to his own time, represented by Gallus, who receives the pipes which once belonged to Hesiod (70). Vergil has here fused myths which in Hesiod are distinct: Prometheus' theft, which in Hesiod disrupted a felicitous existence for mortals, in Silenus' song is made to follow the felicitous *Saturnia regna*, which in turn follow the race which sprang from the stones thrown by Deucalion and Pyrrha. Yet Deucalion, in Hesiod's account, was the son of Prometheus. Vergil rearranges Hesiod's chronology, thereby revealing his own peculiar conception of the chronology surrounding a golden age. He makes no reference in the Sixth *Eclogue* to a new golden age,[4] but the chronology which he there establishes leaves open the possibility of its renewal.

The chronology of the Fourth *Eclogue* is consistent with the pattern established in the Sixth *Eclogue*. A new golden age is about

[3] O. Skutsch, "Zu Vergils Eklogen," *RhM* 99 (1956) 193-201, and Z. Stewart, "The Song of Silenus," *HSCP* 64 (1959) 183-99 conclude that the poem lists Alexandrian themes. C. G. Hardie, *Eclogue VI* (1960) believes that the themes of this *Eclogue* portray the golden age as being enjoyed, lost, and regained. E. W. Leach, "The Unity of *Eclogue* VI," *Latomus* 27 (1968) 12-32 and C. Segal, "Vergil's Sixth *Eclogue* and the Problem of Evil," *TAPA* 100 (1969) 407-35 examine the order and interrelationships of myths in this poem.

[4] Despite Hardie's contention (note 3 above). A tradition is passed on from Hesiod to Gallus, from Apollo to Silenus, but the question of the recurrence of the golden age is not broached.

to begin, heralded by the birth of an unnamed child. Here the new golden race is directly preceded by a *ferrea gens* and, as in the Sixth *Eclogue*, will eventually be undermined by acts of deception, which include sailing on the sea, waging war, and, significantly, tilling the soil (4.31 ff.). It may be asked whether Vergil sees any relationship between the hardy race of men who grew from the stones thrown by Deucalion and Pyrrha and the race of iron. This question arises as a textual problem in the second *Georgic*, where, although the manuscripts read *ferrea*, many editors have emended the text to *terrea*:

> ver illud erat, ver magnus agebat
> orbis, et hibernis parcebant flatibus Euri,
> cum primae lucem pecudes hausere, virumque
> *terrea progenies* duris caput extulit arvis,
> immissaeque ferae silvis et sidera caelo. (*G.* 2.338-42)

Editors usually base this emendation on the assumption that Vergil is here alluding not to the first creation of the world but to the second creation, after the Flood. Vergil mentions the post-diluvium creation in the Sixth *Eclogue* (*lapides Pyrrhae*, above) and again in the first *Georgic*:

> . . . quo tempore primum
> Deucalion vacuum lapides iactavit in orbem,
> unde homines nati, durum genus. (*G.* 1.61-3)

The textual difficulty in the Second *Georgic* could just as readily refer to the first creation as to that which followed the great flood. Monat has recently shown the weakness of the reading *terrea*, for which the evidence is an emended text of Lactantius.[5] As will be shown later, the reading *ferrea* would make this the only example in the *Georgics* where Vergil uses metallic adjectives to refer to the human race.

Either reading, however, *ferrea* or *terrea*, is consistent with the chronological sequence wherein a hard race of mortals precedes a state of felicity, for both terms appear to have been used to signify the *hardness* of the human race.[6] In the above passages, the mortal race is called a *durum genus* because it grows from the *lapides* thrown by Deucalion and Pyrrha (*G.* 1.63). Its hardness is again suggested

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[5] P. Monat, "Lactance comme Témoin du Texte de Virgile: Note sur Verg., *Georg.*, 2.341," *AC* 43 (1974) 346-57.

[6] Monat, 351.

by *duris arvis* (*G.* 2.341), the hard fields from which the race sprang. The notion of the hardness of the present race of iron is also seen in Horace's Sixteenth *Epode,* which was written about the same time as the Fourth *Eclogue.* Horace, in fact, characterizes the deterioration of the metallic ages, once the initial stain has undermined the golden age, by their increasing hardness:

> . . . ut inquinavit aere tempus aureum;
> aere, dehinc ferro duravit saecula. (*Epode* 16.64-5)

In the *Aeneid,* the "hardness" of the race of mortals prior to the golden age of Saturnus signifies a primitive rather than, as in this *Epode,* a militaristic mode of life. There the reign of Saturnus in Italy is preceded by a race of men born from trunks of trees and hard oak:

> haec nemora indigenae Fauni Nymphaeque tenebant
> gensque virum truncis et duro robore nata,
> quis neque mos neque cultus erat, nec iungere tauros
> aut componere opes norant aut parcere parto,
> sed rami atque asper victu venatus alebat. (*A.* 8.314-8)

Hardness thus appears to have been considered a peculiar characteristic of the race of iron. Softness, in turn, tends to be associated with the golden age. Just as hardness can signify either a primitive existence, a militaristic mode of life, or a combination of the two, so the softness of the golden age seems to correspond to a civilized existence and an absence of war. Thus, when Jupiter predicts the rule of Augustus and a new golden age in the first book of the *Aeneid,* he proclaims that the hard generations will become soft because they will have put aside war: [7]

> aspera tum positis mitescent saecula bellis. (*A.* 1.291)

So, too, in the Fourth *Eclogue,* the world will be *pacatum* (*Ec.* 4.17), and the child will know of heroes only through reading about them.

Vergil thus envisions a chronology wherein a golden age is preceded by a *durum genus.* In retrospect, it should not be surprising if Vergil and his contemporaries did indeed envision a close association between a race sprung from stone or hard soil, and hence *durum,*

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[7] I. Borzsák, "Von Hippokrates Bis Vergil," *Vergiliana*: *Recherches sur Virgile,* ed. H. Bardon and R. Verdière (1971) 41-55, resolves an apparent inconsistency, whereby fertile Italy is able to produce a hardy race of soldiers.

and the race of iron. Unrefined iron ore is, to the naked eye, merely a piece of "stone," which is dug out of the earth and hence *terrea*, and can be converted into the basic material of the *gens ferrea*. Whether men are sprung from stone, the earth, or the hard tree trunks which themselves grow out of the earth, or whether they are men of iron, they can thus all be envisioned as "hard" because of their origin. This rationale may help to explain what has been interpreted as a lack of chronological consistency in Vergil's allusions to the golden age [8] and, indeed, to indicate a consistent chronological pattern in his works as early as the *Eclogues* and as late as the *Aeneid*. The *ferrea gens* which, in the Fourth *Eclogue*, precedes the *aurea gens*, is parallel to the *lapides Pyrrhae* in the Sixth *Eclogue*, which in turn precede *Saturnia regna*. In the *Aeneid*, Augustus' *aurea saecula* (6.792-3) will be preceded by *aspera saecula* (1.291), just as Saturnus' *aurea saecula* (8.324-5) were preceded by a *gens duro robore nata* (8.315) who sustained themselves by hunting, a manner of food-gathering which is described as *asper* (8.318).

Vergil's conception of the golden age appears to require that it be preceded by a race of mortals hardened either by a primitive existence or by military activities. The strength of such men can be channelled and guided by a strong leader in order to achieve a period of felicity for mortals. In the Fourth *Eclogue* it is not clear who that leader will be. In the *Georgics*, Vergil looks to Octavian for such leadership. In the *Aeneid*, finally, he proclaims that Augustus is destined to follow the example of Saturnus and to guide the brute strength of an iron age into civilized channels, thus achieving a new golden age.

Vergil never envisions a golden age which will be permanent. He always imagines it in a sequence, even in the microcosm of the life-time of the unborn child of the Fourth *Eclogue*. As the child grows to maturity, the world about him will change as the new golden age is realized. Eventually the new golden age will be undermined, however, as the lingering traces of an unspecified ancient wrong emerge. The lingering flaw which will undermine the new golden age is referred to twice, first as a polite possibility:

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[8] E.g., G. Stégen, *Étude sur cinq Bucoliques de Virgile* (1955) 64-78 and L. Berkowitz, "Pollio and the Date of the Fourth *Eclogue*," *CSCA* 5 (1972) 35-36 see an alternating interplay between present and future time in the Fourth *Eclogue*. J. Perret, *Les Bucoliques de Virgile* (1970) 71, concludes that the adventures of Prometheus, the deluge of Deucalion, and the age of gold are themes among which a firm succession has never been established.

si qua manent sceleris vestigia nostri (*Ec.* 4.13)

and then as a fact:

pauca tamen suberunt priscae vestigia fraudis. (*Ec.* 4.31)

In Hesiod's metallic myth, each race is terminated and then replaced by an entirely new race, so that, for example, there is no relationship between the golden race and the silver race which replaced it. In Aratus' account, the silver race is the offspring of the golden race, and the bronze race is the vile progeny of the silver race (*Phaen.* 123-6).

Roman poets envisioned a flaw passing from one generation to the next, accompanying the deterioration down to the present. Lucretius believes that the *culpa* for ever-increasing wars is innate in human beings, who by nature pursue ever-greater luxury, first animal skins, for example, and now purple robes:

tunc igitur pelles, nunc aurum et purpura curis
exercent hominum vitam belloque fatigant;
quo magis *in nobis,* ut opinor, *culpa resedit.* (5.1423-1425)

Catullus indicates that the soil itself carries a stain from one generation to the next:

sed postquam tellus scelere est imbuta nefando . . . (64.397)

The first crime that he then names is the crime of civil war:

perfudere manus fraterno sanguine fratres, (64.399)

suggesting that he considers this the initial crime which, like Vergil's later *vestigia sceleris,* has left upon the human race a mark which makes the eventual deterioration of the race inevitable.[9]

In his sixteenth *Epode,* Horace wearily indicates that a curse haunts the Roman race:

impia perdemus devoti sanguinis aetas. (*Epode* 16.9)

This curse, which is more threatening to the Roman state than any external enemy, manifests itself in repeated civil wars:

altera iam teritur bellis civilibus aetas,
  suis et ipsa Roma viribus ruit. (*Epode* 16.1-2)

[9] Cf. Catullus' less-than-reverent allusions to Romulus and his brother: *opprobria Romuli Remique,* 28.15; *cinaede Romuli,* 29.9; ⟨*Lesbia*⟩ *glubit magnanimi Remi nepotes,* 58.5.

It is in this *Epode* that Horace urges flight to the Isles of the Blessed, his despair a response to the ineluctable heritage.

Vergil follows the tradition in which an innate curse passes from one generation to the next. Not only is he less specific about the precise origins of that curse, however, but he also assumes a recurrence of a felicitous state of existence, followed by a period of decline. This does not mean that the recurrence is inevitable, but rather that a state of felicity can recur, given the right circumstances. Vergil's optimism contrasts with the attitude of his contemporaries, such as Horace, who envisions such felicity only for the select few who can escape to the mythical *arva beata et divites insulas* (*Epode* 16.41-2). Horace's later works, on the other hand, reflect the influence of Vergil's more optimistic conception.[10]

[10] Cf. *C.S.* 25: *vosque veraces cecinisse, Parcae.* Fraenkel, *Horace,* 375 n. 2, suggests that this line echoes Cat. 64. Catullus' grim prophecy, however, has little bearing on the event Horace celebrates, namely the new golden age of Augustus. Horace seems to be saying that the golden age of Vergil's prophecy has come to pass. Note that Apollo and Diana, although conspicuously absent from the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, are important participants in Horace's *Carmen Saeculare* and in Vergil's Fourth *Eclogue,* both of which are linked to Sibylline prophecies and both of which idealize a current historical event. Cf. Fraenkel, 364-82; Commager, 223-26.

CHAPTER THREE

THE METALLIC MYTH BEFORE VERGIL

Reference to the golden age traditionally suggests the myth of the five metallic ages first enunciated in Greek literature by Hesiod and subsequently modified by Aratus. Numerous other sources for this concept have been collected over the past fifty years, and various attempts have been made, most notably by Norden, to identify sources other than the tradition set by Hesiod as Vergil's source. The current consensus, however, is that Vergil's source is the myth of the ages found in Hesiod and the tradition that developed from Hesiod. Vergil does blend the oracles of the Sibylline books and the Etruscan Great Year into his prophecy of a new golden age, it is true, but Hesiod's myth remains the basic source.[1]

The neoteric poets tended to view Hesiod as the ancestor of their poetic tradition, as numerous allusions (e.g., *Ec.* 6.69-71; Prop. 2.13.3-8, etc.) indicate. Vergil clearly indicates in the *Georgics*, too, that he is writing an Ascraean song, a reference to Hesiod's birthplace, Ascra (*Erga* 639-640):

Salve, magna parens frugum, Saturnia tellus,
magna virum: tibi res antiquae laudis et artis
ingredior sanctos ausus recludere fontis,
Ascraeumque cano Romana per oppida carmen. (*G.* 2.173-176)

He follows Hesiod by writing a didactic poem on agriculture, as Hesiod did in the *Works and Days*; the first two books of the *Georgics* are particularly marked by verbal echoes of Hesiod's poem.[2] In Hesiod's poem, the golden age and agriculture are both

[1] Hesiod's myth derives from the same source as the Asian variants which appear in the *Vanaparvan* of the *Mahabharata* and in the *Bahman Yašt*. See B. Gatz, *Weltalter, goldene Zeit, und sinnverwandte Vorstellungen*, Spudasmata, Band XVI (1967), J. Fontenrose, "Work, Justice, and Hesiod's Five Ages," *CP* 69 (1974), and M. L. West, *Hesiod*: *Works and Days* (1978) 172-177. Fontenrose believes that, for Hesiod, the myth was primarily an *aition* of the need to work for a living. For Aratus, however, and for his successors, the moral decline of the races is a primary feature of the myth. Richter (*ad G.* I.197 ff.) maintains that the tendency of the world to degenerate is an Epicurean idea, but the theme of degeneration is also popular among the Stoics.

[2] The influence of Hesiod can be seen in the use of risings and settings of constellations to mark the seasons (Wilkinson, *Georgics*, 57) and in numerous

prominent factors, but they are set in opposition to each other. These two topics are not joined until Aratus, in his astronomical poem, *Phaenomena*, depicts Dikê and the ploughing-ox working together to provide sustenance for the golden race. For Hesiod's golden race, earth provided sustenance without cultivation. Aratus' modification is thus particularly relevant to Vergil's poem, since it anticipates the latter's exhortation to his fellow-Romans to initiate a new golden age by renewing the agricultural art. Lucretius' influence on Vergil's conception of a golden age is more important for the poetic imagery than for philosophical ideas. Catullus, who dwells on the disastrous exploits of the race of heroes, derives much from Hesiod's myth of the ages and from Aratus' modification of that myth. Catullus' version had great impact on Vergil's thinking about this myth, as will be seen not only in the echoes of Catullus 64 in the Fourth *Eclogue*, but also in the modifications and/or qualifications of these Catullan elements which Vergil felt a need to include in his own treatment of the myth. The elements which are unique to Vergil's golden age, however, and which therefore most affect the subsequent tradition, are the notions that the golden age can recur and that such an age will be based on the agricultural toil of its beneficiaries. The two elements emerge, quite naturally, from his poem on farming, and are subsequently stated quite clearly in the *Aeneid*.

Hesiod

At this point it may be useful to review the sources upon which Vergil drew for his conception of a golden age. The basic source in Greco-Roman literature for the idea of a golden age is Hesiod's account of the myth in the *Works and Days*. Hesiod, who speaks of a golden race (γένος μερόπων ἀνπρώρων, 109) rather than of a golden age, attributes eternal youth, feasting, and freedom from toil to the golden race. The men of this race lived like gods (112) under the rule of Cronus, free from care (112). For them the earth

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Hesiodic echoes, e.g., the account of the end of the golden age (*G.* 1.121 ff.) or in maxims like *nudus ara, sere nudus* (*G.* 1.299; cf. *Erga* 391) or *laudato ingentia rura / exiguum colito* (*G.* 2.412; cf. *Erga* 643). Even here, however, Vergil adds his own touch, reversing the order of Hesiod's "strip to sow, strip to plough", and of the priorities, as well as the commercial arena, of Hesiod's "admire a small ship, put your goods on a large one." For a thorough account of Hesiodic echoes in the *Georgics*, see the bibliography for P. Jahn's articles on sources in the *Georgics*.

spontaneously produced abundant quantities of food (117-8). When they died, it was as if they were overcome by sleep (116), whereupon they became pure spirits dwelling on earth as Zeus' guardians of mortal men.

The silver race, like its antecedent, was created anew by the gods on Olympus, and thus had no relationship to the golden race. The men of this race differed from the golden race physically and spiritually: their childhood lasted one hundred years, followed by a brief period of adulthood which was sorrowful because of their foolishness. Hesiod's emphasis on the foolishness of the silver race suggests that the preceding, golden, race was, if not wise, at least free from foolishness.[3] The other weakness of the silver race is the destructive arrogance which its members inflict upon one another (134) and, by refusing to offer sacrifices, upon the gods. This race was also destroyed and became blessed spirits of the underworld (141).

The bronze race, the first to be created by Zeus (143), loved the works of Ares and deeds of violence, and were the first to consume flesh rather than bread (145-6). Their armour, houses and tools were all of bronze, and their hard hearts were made of adamantine (147). They were destroyed by their own hands, passed to Hades, and left no name.

The second race created by Zeus, the race of heroes, is usually explained as an innovation which Hesiod added to the tradition to account for Greek history.[4] Zeus, says Hesiod, made this race of men nobler and more just (158). They were a divine race (159) and were

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[3] Fontenrose, 7, shows that the real fault of the silver race was that, instead of working, they depended upon their mothers for their livelihood. When the mothers died, these men did not know how nor care to work, and therefore resorted to theft or violence to provide their livelihood.

[4] The cults of these heroes were a current reality which had to be fitted into the metallic myth. At least a part of the race of heroes, it will be noted, met the same fate as did the men of the bronze race, namely death in war. The contrast between the two races seems to lie in their attitude toward such deeds. Hesiod's race of heroes are victims of war, whereas the race of bronze actively pursues war. The race of heroes, moreover, left names never to be forgotten, as opposed to the subsequent reputation of the race of bronze. K. Von Fritz, "Pandora, Prometheus, and the Myth of the Ages," *Rev. of Religion* 11 (1947) 227-60, believes that the race of bronze and of heroes are two variant accounts of the same race, one unfavorable, the other favorable. See also T. G. Rosenmeyer, "Hesiod and Historiography," *Hermes* 85 (1957) 257-84, and D. J. Stewart, "Hesiod and History," *Bucknell Review* 18 (1970) 37-52, for the historical perspective in Hesiod.

called demigods. They were the race of men prior to our own. Part of this race was destroyed by war, some at Thebes, some at Troy: another part of this race, however, did not die, but instead was physically translated to the Isles of the Blessed.

The iron race, the fifth and present race of men, is a wretched lot; they know labor and sorrow by day, and they perish by night. This race of mortal men will be destroyed by Zeus when they are born with gray hair (180). The evils of the iron race include strife between parents and children, between brothers, and between friends (182-5), absence of reverence for the gods (187), neglect of aged parents (188) and of oaths (190), and rule by violence (192). There will be no help against evil, warns Hesiod, for Aidos and Nemesis will depart from earth (201) and forsake mankind, to join the company of the deathless gods. Hesiod predicts these predetermined, inescapable evils for his own race. After a grim declaration, "Now is the race of iron" (175), and a generalization about the endless misery of this race, Hesiod deals with this race exclusively in the future tense, as if revealing a prophetic vision.

The evils of the iron race represent the cumulative evils of the preceding races. Strife and rule by violence characterize the bronze race. Members of the silver race specifically inflicted violence upon one another, an early form of civil war. Their arrogance toward the gods, indicated by their refusal to sacrifice to the gods, is reflected in the lack of reverence exhibited by the race of iron. The neglect of their parents, charged to the iron race, may be inferred also for the silver race, from the fact that the men of the silver race lived with their mothers most of their lives and were dependent upon them instead of assuming their proper responsibilities toward their aged parents.

In addition to his accounts of the races of gold and of heroes, Hesiod tells of another state of felicity for mortals in the *Works and Days*; this was the life of men who predated the theft of Prometheus (42 ff.). In the tale of Prometheus and his theft of fire, Hesiod reports that the gods kept hidden from men the means of life:

κρύψαντες γὰρ ἔχουσι θεοὶ βίον ἀνθρώποισιν. (*Erga* 42)

In this account, man was a passive recipient of Prometheus' largesse and subsequently a victim of the conflict between Prometheus and Zeus (48; cf. *Theog.* 535 ff.). Mankind was punished by

Zeus for receiving Prometheus' gift by the creation of Pandora, so-called because all the Olympians contributed gifts to her so that she would be "a plague to men who eat bread" (82). It was prior to the theft of Prometheus and the creation of Pandora that men enjoyed an existence similar to the life enjoyed by the race of heroes on the Isles of the Blessed:

> πρὶν μὲν γὰρ ζώεσκον ἐπὶ χθονὶ φῦλ' ἀνθρώπων
> νόσφιν ἄτερ τε κακῶν καὶ ἄτερ χαλεποῖο πόνοιο
> νούσων τ' ἀργαλέων, αἵ τ' ἀνδράσι Κῆρας ἔδωκαν. (*Erga* 90-2)

One of the blessings enjoyed by this race and also by the race of heroes after the latter's translation to the Isles of the Blessed is isolation. The pre-Promethean race lived νόσφιν, apart; the race of heroes have a living and an abode δίχ' ἀνθρώρων, apart from men (167), and ἐς πείρατα γαίης, at the ends of the earth (168).

The men of the golden race, the race of heroes, and the pre-Promethean race are also conspicuously free of the harsh reality of death: the men of the golden race become spirits wandering on the earth; the heroes are physically translated to the Isles of the Blessed. The pre-Promethean race is "free from ills and hard toil and heavy sicknesses which bring the Fates upon men" (91-2).

Another harsh reality which is lacking is the trauma associated with one's offspring. The men of the golden race have no offspring to bring them the kind of sorrow which the men of the iron race experience from disrespectful children. None of the metallic races, until the iron race, reproduces itself, although the silver race does have mothers to exploit. The race of heroes, moreover, is also free of disturbance from their children in Hesiod's account. The pre-Promethean race presumably had no children, since the creation of woman was the punishment which Zeus inflicted to bring their state of felicity to an end.

Isolation from strangers and freedom from the traumas of human life—illness, death, and unpredictable offspring—are necessary for these relatively simple modes of existence, which are in fact too simple to be of practical value. The possibility of social or commercial intercourse disrupting these simple social models must be omitted in order to sustain the idyllic situation.

A very striking—and disturbing—aspect of these three periods of felicity recounted by Hesiod is the extreme passivity of the mortals who experience them. Their maintenance or loss of a

happy state is entirely dependent upon an outside force: the men of the golden race die a pleasant death after a passive life; the members of the pre-Promethean race are the victims of Prometheus' deception and of Zeus' anger; the members of the race of heroes are victims of war or are taken to the Isles of the Blessed.

There is a fourth account of a felicitous state for mortals in Hesiod which is more nearly an antecedent for the new golden or Saturnian age of Vergil's *Georgics* than are the other states of felicity depicted in the *Works and Days.* Hesiod's depiction of such a state is anticipated by his exhortation to Perses (212 ff.), wherein he advises Perses to go in the direction of justice, and not to foster hybris, that is, insolence which is manifested by wanton violence:

> ὕβρις γάρ τε κακὴ δειλῷ βροτῷ. (*Erga* 214)

Justice has a practical as well as a moral value. This practical value is elaborated in the account of the just state. These men also appear to live as a race apart, but they do have dealings with strangers, with whom they deal fairly (225-6). They do not experience war or famine, and their toil, which is not excessive, is amply rewarded:

> τοῖσι φέρει μὲν γαῖα πολὺν βίον, οὔρεσι δὲ δρῦς
> ἄκρη μέν τε φέρει βαλάνους, μέσση δὲ μελίσσας·
> εἰροπόκοι δ' ὄιες μαλλοῖς καταβεβρίθασιν·
> τίκτουσιν δὲ γυναῖκες ἐοικότα τέκνα γονεῦσιν·
> θάλλουσιν δ' ἀγαθοῖσι διαμπερές· οὐδ' ἐπὶ νηῶν
> νίσσονται, καρπὸν δὲ φέρει ζείδωρος ἄρουρα. (*Erga* 232-7)

This felicitous state bears some possibility of realization in the real world, in contrast to the other states which Hesiod describes. Citizens of a just state will, theoretically, be free from war, for they will incur no wrath or hostility. They will also be free from famine, because they will devote their energies to raising their crops and tending their flocks, and their descendants will continue this admirable mode of existence.

A very important contrast between this state and Hesiod's other felicitous states is the fact that these people practice agriculture.[5] The rewards which the earth lavishes upon them are

[5] Fontenrose, 9, argues that the race of heroes sowed and reaped crops: "If the fields produce three times a year, then, though unusually rich, they have to be worked." This is true, of course, but subsequent interpretations

therefore earned by them. In contrast to the passivity of the other happy races, they bear considerable responsibility for their felicitous condition. The role these men bear in creating their happy state is reflected in the repetition of the same line (117, 237) to depict the fertility of the earth enjoyed by the golden race and by citizens of the just state, particularly inasmuch as the subsequent line (118), which adds the significant detail that the grain grows spontaneously, is not repeated in the account of the just state:

καρπὸν δ' ἔφερε ζείδωρος ἄρουρα
αὐτομάτη πολλόν τε καὶ ἄφθονον. (*Erga* 117-8)

Compare Hesiod's just state:

καρπὸν δὲ φέρει ζείδωρος ἄρουρα. (*Erga* 237)

The people here are happy and prosperous through their own efforts, not merely because of their good fortune. Again, the race of heroes passively enjoys the fruits of the earth, which flourish thrice yearly:

ὄλβιοι ἥρωες, τοῖσιν μελιηδέα καρπὸν
τρὶς ἔτεος θάλλοντα φέρει ζείδωρος ἄρουρα. (*Erga* 172-3)

Because of its citizens' efforts, however, Hesiod's just state flourishes continually with many good things: [6]

τοῖσι τέθηλε πόλις, λαοὶ δ' ἀνθεῦσιν ἐν αὐτῇ. (*Erga* 227)

θάλλουσιν δ' ἀγαθοῖσι διαμπερές· (*Erga* 236)

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of this myth tended to avoid this conclusion. Aratus assigns this chore to Dikê herself, and to her assistant, the ploughing-ox.

[6] Note that Vergil applies the notion of flourishing or blossoming to himself instead of to his farmer (*studiis florentem ignobilis oti, G* 4.564). M. Gagarin, "*Dikê* in the Works and Days," *CP* 68 (1973) 81-94 believes that Hesiod's *dikê* has no moral implication. It refers solely to the legal process whose function is to make possible the achievement of prosperity. L. B. Quaglia, *Gli "Erga" di Esiodo* (Turin 1973), by contrast, in an analysis of the didactic content of Hesiod's *Erga*, argues that the myth of the five ages adds a new dimension to the theme of Zeus' justice by showing that the guilty (silver, bronze and iron races) are punished and the innocent (gold and heroic races) are rewarded. She believes the just race is merely the positive side of the iron race, in much the same way that the race of heroes has been considered the blessed counterpart of the race of bronze. Gagarin, *CP* 73 (1978) 67-70 (rev. of Quaglia) argues, however, that Hesiod never mentions justice, nor does he give any indication "that the iron age has redeeming features other than grudging admission in 179 that some good will be mixed with evil."

The most hopeless aspect of the degeneration of the races depicted by Hesiod in his metallic myth, and in direct contrast to his race of just men, is the transformation of the character of mortals from just to unjust, from pious to irreverent. This progressive deterioration of Hesiod's metallic races is interrupted by the appearance of the race of heroes, who in turn appear to be an inferior version of the golden race. The race of heroes enjoys blessings similar to those of the golden race, but only after they have been translated to the Isles of the Blessed, whereas the golden race enjoys them during their original existence on earth. Hence the race of heroes might be interpreted as a faded version of the golden race. The pre-Promethean race, a simple, vegetarian society, is an innocent victim of outside interference, despite their isolation from other mortals. Hesiod's race of just men, however, maintains its felicitous condition. This race, which does not degenerate or change in any way from one generation to the next, is not very realistic with respect to human nature,[7] but it does provide a partial paradigm for the new golden age which Vergil hopes to see emerge at Rome under a new, just ruler. As will be seen, Hesiod's successors, particularly Aratus, Varro, and Vergil, tend to merge certain details of Hesiod's just society and of his metallic myth, so that Justice becomes the important deity in the myth of the golden age.

Hesiod's successors interpret his metallic myth as one of deterministic, linear deterioration despite the pathetic rays of hope which linger, as, for example, the vestigial ἐσθλά among the multitude of evils for the iron age (179),[8] and quite literally in the tale of the pre-Promethean race, where Hope alone remains in Pandora's box (96), not yet let loose among mortals. Like the metallic races, however, the members of this pre-Promethean race are relatively helpless victims. Their responsibility for their deterioration is, at most, limited, if it can be said to exist at all. This is strikingly different from Vergil's conception of a golden age. Vergil makes the return of the golden age possible by placing the responsibility for a state of felicity in the hands of those who will enjoy it.

[7] M. L. West, *Hesiod, Works and Days* (1978) *ad Erga* 235 points out that the duplication of succeeding generations would be an appealing quality, for the children's resemblance to their fathers is clear evidence of their legitimacy.

[8] These vestigial ἐσθλά find their exact counterpart in the *sceleris vestigia* and *vestigia fraudis* of Vergil's golden age in the Fourth *Eclogue* (13, 31).

After Hesiod

References to the myth of the ages abound in Greek literature after Hesiod.[9] The theme of deterioration struck a particularly responsive chord in poetry. Theognis of Megara (c. 544 B.C.) introduces this theme into his elegies, conflating Hesiod's accounts of the pre-Promethean race, which was punished by the creation of Pandora, and of the iron race:

> Ἐλπὶς ἐν ἀνθρώποις μούνη θεὸς ἐσθλὴ ἔνεστιν,
> ἄλλοι δ' Οὔλυμπόνδ' ἐκπρολιπόντες ἔβαν·
> ᾤχετο μὲν Πίστις, μεγάλη θεός, ᾤχετο δ' ἀνδρῶν
> Σωφροσύνη· Χάριτές τ' ὦ φίλε, γῆν ἔλιπον·
> ὅρκοι δ' οὐκέτι πιστοὶ ἐν ἀνθρώποισι δίκαιοι,
> οὐδὲ θεοὺς οὐδεὶς ἅζεται ἀθανάτους·
> εὐσεβέων δ' ἀνδρῶν γένος ἔφθιται, οὐδὲ θέμιστας
> οὐκέτι γινώσκουσ' οὐδὲ μὲν εὐνομίας· (*Elegies* 1.1135-42)

Pandora, according to Hesiod's account, brought with her a great jar which contained all sorts of evils and hard toil and deadly sickness for men. After she opened the jar, all these evils escaped into the world. Hope alone (μούνη Ἐλπίς) remained in the jar; the rest wander among men (*Erga* 90 ff.). Hesiod's account makes Hope less accessible to men than the evils that escaped from the jar, but Theognis reverses this interpretation, making Hope alone accessible to mortals. Instead of having been formerly grouped with evils, moreover, Theognis' Hope was formerly grouped with the other deified abstractions, Trust, Moderation, and the Graces. The loss of these blessings, so necessary to a civilized relationship between men, and the reversion to *Faustrecht* or a "might is right" principle, is more specifically found in the account of the race of iron than in the tale of Pandora.

[9] The myth is of great interest to philosophers. Plato considered it an allegory for an ethical doctrine (*Leg.* 713c-714d); in *Crat.* 398a, he argues against the view that humans literally consist of metals. A possible influence on Vergil's cyclical view of the golden age is Aristotle, e.g., *De Gen. et Corr.* 337a-338b, where he opposes the theories both of progress and decline, allowing only vicissitudes. For a useful summary, see K. J. Reckford, "Some Appearances of the Golden Age," *CJ* 54 (1958) 79-87. For extensive discussion of the theories of progress and decline in antiquity, see A. O. Lovejoy and G. Boas, *A Documentary History of Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity* (1965); L. Edelstein, *The Idea of Progress in Classical Antiquity* (1967); L. L. Haber, "Prokope: Stoic Views on Moral Progress," diss., Univ. of Calif., Berkeley (1972); E. R. Dodds, *The Ancient Concept of Progress* (1973).

It should be noted that Hesiod puts the worst feature of the race of iron in the future, whereas Theognis assigns them to the present. Theognis thus envisions the men of his time as inferior even to Hesiod's contemporaries, as he indicates that the mortal race has deteriorated even more since Hesiod's time. After Hesiod, poets tend to assign the worst aspects of the iron age to the present, as Theognis does, or, even more pessimistically, to the past,[10] implying yet further deterioration of the race.

Chronological variations are also introduced by subsequent poets. Hesiod indicates that the golden race lived in the time of Cronus (111).[11] Empedocles writes of a vegetarian, pacifistic race which was ruled by Cypris, and which existed prior to the reign of Cronus.[12] This reign knew nothing of the war-god, Ares, nor the din of battle (κυδοιμός) nor Zeus nor Cronus nor Poseidon. With the disappearance of this race, strife (νεῖκος) entered human affairs, symbolized by the sacrifice of bulls to deities:

> ταύρων δ' ἀκρήτοισι φόνοις οὐ δεύετο βωμός,
> ἀλλὰ μύσος τοῦτ' ἔσκεν ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν μέγιστον
> θυμὸν ἀπορραίσαντας ἐ⟨ν⟩έδμεναι ἠέα γυῖα.
> (*Katharmoi*, Fr. 128.8-10)

Empedocles here implies that, even under the rule of Cronos, men were meat-eaters. In Hesiod, it will be recalled, the bronze race was the first race to eat something other than bread, presumably meat. Euhemerus, almost two centuries after Empedocles, depicts Cronus and the mortal race not only as consuming animal flesh, but even the flesh of human beings. This is one of the practices to which a beneficent Zeus brings a halt:

> Saturnum et Opem ceterosque tunc homines
> humanam carnem solitos esitare; verum primum
> Iovem leges hominibus moresque condentem edicto
> prohibuisse ne liceret eo cibo vesci.
> (Ennius' translation of Euhemerus, *ap.* Lact. 1.13.2)

The consumption of flesh, in Hesiod's account, is only one of the negative aspects of the race of bronze. After Empedocles,

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[10] The *Oracula Sibyllina,* which imitate Hesiod, reflect such pessimism. See n. 1, p. 8 (above).

[11] Philodemus reports that the author of the *Alcmeonid* (c. 6th cent. B.C.) wrote of the "most happy life inthe time of Cronus." (*V. Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta,* ed. Kunkel (Leipzig, 1877), I. 313).

[12] Frag. 128.1-3 (D-K); cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 1.188 ff., where Janus extols the virtuous Roman race which inhabited Latium prior to the arrival of Saturnus.

the consumption of flesh, human or otherwise, becomes a specific outrage to which poets can refer when alluding to the deterioration of the mortal race and the termination of the golden age. Aratus, as will be seen, specifically blames this practice for Dikê's total rejection of the mortal race.

Another important consideration in Empedocles' *Katharmoi* is the outright vilification of the gods, particularly of Cronus, as well as of Zeus and Poseidon. In Hesiod, Cronus is the powerful ruler on Olympus until he is replaced by the next generation; there is no vilification of Cronus or of Zeus (or of Poseidon). Euhemerus, as will be seen, focuses hostility upon Cronus (Saturnus), while extolling Zeus' benefactions for mortals. Thus, by the time Ennius, and then Vergil, begin to refer to their homeland with the epithet *Saturnia*, Saturnus has acquired a checquered reputation which must be dealt with.

Aratus

Aratus' account of the golden age (*Phaen.* 96-136) is a conflation of Hesiod's metallic myth and of his account of the city of just men. Not only does Aratus merge these two states of felicity, but he also makes the significant modification of including agriculture in the golden age as a necessary feature of it. He identifies the life of the farmer, moreover, as the mode of life in which Justice can be found.[13] Hesiod placed agriculture in his account of the city of just men, but throughout his poem it is clear that he considers agriculture a part of the endless labor which the race of iron knows by day.

Aratus begins his tale with the constellation Virgo, who holds a gleaming ear of corn in her hands:

> Ἀμφοτέροισι δὲ ποσσὶν ὕπο σκέπτοιο βοώτεω
> ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΝ, ἥ ῥ' ἐν χερσὶ φέρει Στάχυν αἰγλήεντα.
> (*Phaen.* 96-7)

In Aratus' account, she is called Dikê, Parthenos, and Astraea (the daughter of Astraeus, the father of the stars, 98-100).[14] Dikê,

[13] F. Solmsen, "Aratus on the Maiden and the Golden Age," *Hermes* 94 (1966) 127, remarks on this passage, "We are not far from Vergil's *aureus hanc vitam in terris Saturnus agebat.*" Edelstein believes that Aratus believed in progress rather than in the myth of the ages, but that he records the myth of the ages because it is commonly told. Cf. Aratus *Phaen.* 100-1 and 768-72.

[14] Cf. Juvenal, *Sat.* 6, where Aratus' Astraea becomes *duae sorores*,

says Aratus, dwelt on earth at the time of the golden race, but gradually withdrew her presence from mortals. During Aratus' golden age, men had never heard of strife (νεῖκος) or the din of battle (κυδοιμός) (108, 109), both of which were also unknown to Empedocles' pre-Cronian race. They lived a simple life, far from the sea and sea-faring (110-11). All their needs were supplied by the oxen and the plough and by Dikê herself:

ἀλλὰ βόες καὶ ἄροτρα καὶ αὐτή, πότνια λαῶν,
μυρία πάντα παρεῖχε Δίκη, δώτειρα δικαίων. (*Phaen.* 112-3)

When the silver race replaced the golden race, however, she withdrew to the mountains and came down alone, towards evening (119), to mingle only a little (115), and without the readiness which she had exhibited with the previous race. She yearned for the ways and character (ἤθεα, 116) of men of old. Aratus seems to envision the silver race as the first to meet in assembly for legal business, for he says that she used to address the silver race in crowds instead of individually, as she had the golden race, rebuking their evil ways and declaring that she would never again reveal her face to man: [15]

"οἵην χρύσειοι πατέρες γενεὴν ἐλίποντο
χειροτέρην· ὑμεῖς δὲ κακώτερα τεξείεσθε.
καὶ δή που πόλεμοι, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀνάρσιον αἷμα
ἔσσεται ἀνθρώποισι, κακὸν δ' ἐπικείσεται ἄλγος."
ὣς εἰποῦσ' ὀρέων ἐπεμαίετο, τοὺς δ' ἄρα λαοὺς
εἰς αὐτὴν ἔτι πάντας ἐλίμπανε παπταίνοντας. (*Phaen.* 123-8)

Here Dikê anticipates that the inferior silver race will produce a viler progeny, the race of bronze. This third race of mortals,

Pudicitia and Astraea, who lingered on earth when Saturnus was still king and Jupiter was yet too young to shave, and the discussion by D. Singleton, "Juvenal VI. 1-20 and Some Ancient Attitudes to the Golden Age," *G & R* 19 (1972) 151-65.

[15] Aratus adds the detail that her head was obscured. In Lucr. 1.64, by contrast, *religio* reveals her face, with its cruel expression. Vergil has the sun hide its face, but out of pity rather than disgust (*G.* 1.467). The traffic of Dikê with mortals becomes a characteristic of the golden age. The personal traffic of gods with men is also found in the eastern tradition; in *Genesis*, for example, Jahweh walks with Adam and Eve until the fall of man. In the *Bahman Yašt*, Ahura Mazda, explaining the meaning of the metallic ages, says "That of gold is when I and thou converse" (1.4, West p. 193). See Gatz, p. 37. The old Stoa believed that the presence of the gods symbolizes man's early moral perfection. See M. Pohlenz, *Die Stoa* (1948), pp. 183, 227, 234-5; Reckford, p. 80. Evander's statement to Aeneas, *Arcades ipsum credunt se vidisse Iovem* (*A.* 8.352-3) seems to reflect this belief.

indeed, is the first to forge the sword (131-2). The worst outrage, however, is their consumption not merely of any animal flesh, but of the flesh of the ploughing-ox:

πρῶτοι δὲ βοῶν ἐπάσαντ' ἀροτήρων. (*Phaen.* 132)

Hesiod charges the bronze race with being the first not to eat bread, and Empedocles charges that the outrage of destroying life and consuming the flesh is the "greatest abomination among men." Aratus' account has surpassed even that outrage, however, for the ploughing-ox bestows benefits on mortals and is a helpmate to Dikê. In the golden age, the ploughing-ox and Dikê worked together to supply mortals all their needs (112-13). By consuming Dikê's helpmate, who later becomes the helpmate of mortals in the task of harvesting the fruits of earth, the bronze race won for mortals the total hatred of Dikê, and caused her departure from earth to the heavens, where she now dwells:

καὶ τότε μισήσασα Δίκη κείνων γένος ἀνδρῶν
ἔπταθ' ὑπουρανίη. (*Phaen.* 133-4)

The outrageousness of this bronze race and their unspeakable deed is readily recognized by Aratus' readers, who frequently refer to it. In particular, there is frequent reference to it in Latin literature. Cicero includes his translation of Aratus' lines 131-2 in Balbus' exposition of Stoic views of divine providence: [16]

quibus ⟨bubus⟩, cum terrae subigerentur fissione
glebarum, ab illo aureo genere, ut poetae loquuntur,
vis nulla umquam adferebatur:
"Ferrea tum vero proles exorta repente est
Ausaque funestum primum est fabricarier ensem
Et gustare manu vinctum domitumque iuvencum."
Tanta putabatur utilitas percipi e bubus ut eorum
visceribus vesci scelus haberetur. (*N.D.* II.159)

[16] Cicero, it will be noted, translates Aratus' bronze race as *ferrea.* Aratus, however, does not mention the race of iron; by limiting his myth to gold, silver, and bronze, he keeps the tale in the past. Cicero obviously is trying to reconcile the myths of Hesiod and of Aratus. The high status of the ploughing-ox is repeated by Varro, who says that "the ox is man's partner in his rustic labors and the servant of Ceres; and hence the ancients so wished his life to be safe that they made it a capital offence to kill one." (*R.R.* 2.5.3-5). In this same passage, Varro reports that Italy is derived from ἰταλός or the Latin *vitulus*; cf. Timaeus, *F.H.G.* 195^{b} M. Such an attitude may also be reflected in the sorrow which the ploughman shares with the surviving ploughing-ox of the third *Georgic,* who grieves at his brother's death (*fraterna morte, G.* 3.518).

Vergil alludes to the outrage perpetrated upon Dikê by men of the bronze race as a point of termination for the realm of Saturnus:

> . . .ante
> impia quam caesis gens est epulata iuvencis, (*G.* 2.537)

and the reference is readily recognized by Servius (*ad G.* 2.537):

> IMPIA QUAM CAESIS GENS EST E.I. Arati est hoc, qui dicit, quod maiores bovem comesse nefas putabant.

Two major points in Aratus' account of the golden age must be observed. In the first place, it is the earliest known account wherein agriculture is an integral part of the golden age. The second major point is that it is the deity, Dikê, rather than human beings who, with the help of the ploughing-ox, does the actual farming. Vergil, as will be seen, merges with Aratus' account another account wherein the god Saturnus also farms during the golden age.

Lucretius

The golden age theme as it is adopted in Roman literature thus brings with it the theme of the decline of the human race. The reason for the decline is vague, and various attempts are made to explain it. Although Lucretius does not directly concern himself with the myth of the ages, he is very concerned with theme of deterioration. He attempts to explain the decline of the universe, like that of individuals, as a natural, scientific phenomenon, the logical result of the separation and simultaneous rearrangement of particles:

> nec sic interimit mors res ut materiai
> corpora conficiat, sed coetum dissipat ollis.
> inde aliis aliud coniungit et efficit omnes
> res ita convertant formas mutentque colores
> et capiant sensus et puncto tempore reddant,
> ut noscas referre eadem primordia rerum
> cum quibus et quali positura contineantur
> et quos inter se dent motus accipiantque
> neve putes aeterna penes residere potesse
> corpora prima quod in summis fluitare videmus
> rebus et interdum nasci subitoque perire. (II. 1002-1012)

Lucretius' atoms unite to give birth to the world (V. 416-31). Their eventual, inevitable separation explains the decline of Mother

Earth and of her offspring (V. 826-836). Anderson has shown, however, that, despite his attempt to explain objectively the natural processes in terms of the mechanical joining and separating of Epicurus' atoms, Lucretius tends to see the natural process primarily through its creative stage.[17] Lucretius' *Terra Mater* is depicted at various times as the creative force of nature, and also in the sexual role of mother. Her relation to mankind is first beneficent, as his creator, but after she stops creating him, she becomes the hostile force of nature against which man struggles for survival. Initially she is the beneficent mother of all plants and animals, including the human race, but her creative powers eventually wane, and she stops producing human beings: [18]

> sed quia finem aliquam pariendi debet habere,
> destitit, ut mulier spatio defessa vetusto. (V. 826-827)

She also ceases her beneficence toward mankind, who now finds himself surrounded by a hostile environment (V. 195 ff.), from which he attempts to protect himself with shelters and clothes (V. 1011 ff.), and, in general, by means of force (V. 1145). Man's early condition, when earth was young and fertile, shares, to some extent, certain features of Hesiod's golden race, for Lucretius' early race also enjoys the beneficence and spontaneity of nature:

> haud, ut opinor, enim mortalia saecla superne
> aurea de caelo demisit funis in arva
> nec mare nec fluctus plangentes saxa crearunt,
> sed genuit tellus eadem quae nunc alit ex se.
> praeterea nitidas fruges vinetaque laeta
> sponte sua primum mortalibus ipsa creavit,
> ipsa dedit dulcis fetus et pabula laeta. (II. 1153-1159)

The "golden rope" (*aurea funis*), which alludes to the passage in the *Iliad* (8.19 ff.) wherein Zeus illustrates his overwhelming strength, was interpreted by the Stoics as an allegorical reference to the creation of life on earth.[19] Lucretius, however, also appears to be thinking of Hesiod's account of the golden race, which enjoyed the earth's spontaneous production of all their needs. Juxtaposed and contrasted to this depiction of the bygone age, is the picture of the present miserable race of men:

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[17] W. S. Anderson, "Discontinuity in Lucretian Symbolism," *TAPA* 91 (1960), 1-29.

[18] Cf. 2.1150, where she is called *effeta tellus*.

[19] C. Bailey *ad* Lucr. 2.1154.

quae nunc vix nostro grandescunt aucta labore
conterimusque boves et viris agricolarum,
conficimus ferrum vix arvis suppeditati:
usque adeo parcunt fetus augentque laborem.
iamque caput quassans grandis suspirat arator
crebrius, incassum magnos cecidisse labores
et cum tempora temporibus praesentia confert
praeteritis, laudat fortunas saepe parentis.
tristis item vetulae vitis sator atque ⟨vietae⟩
temporis incusat momen caelumque fatigat,
et crepat, antiquum genus ut pietate repletum
perfacile angustis tolerarit finibus aevum,
cum minor esset agri multo modus ante viritim. (II. 1160-72)

The struggle here depicted of the aged ploughman trying to derive a meager living from the barren soil is not far from the grim struggle which Hesiod ascribes to his own time, a race of iron, wherein men never cease to labor and sorrow by day, and to perish by night (*Erga* 176-177). Lucretius presents a picture of total exhaustion: the soil has lost its fertility, so that much larger tracts of land must be worked to derive adequate produce; the oxen are worn out, as is the aged ploughman, and even the tools are wearing out. Old age has set in, for the earth, for the ploughman, for the vine, and heaven itself is weary.

The metallic myth *per se* has no place in Lucretius' philosophy, but the theme of deterioration fits his philosophy very well. In addition to his physical explanation of the miserable state of mankind, Lucretius, when he first praises Epicurus for freeing mankind from the tyranny of Religion, gives an explanation which is almost a complete inversion of Aratus' account of the race of bronze and the departure of Dikê from the presence of mortals:

Humana ante oculos foede cum vita iaceret
in terris oppressa gravi sub religione
quae caput a caeli regionibus ostendebat
horribili super aspectu mortalibus instans,
primum Graius homo mortalis tollere contra
est oculus ausus primusque obsistere contra. (I. 62-67)

In Aratus' account, Dikê declares she will never again show her face to mortals. Lucretius' *Religio*, by contrast, shows her face to mortals, but the grim expression on her face is so terrible to behold that, before Epicurus, no one dares to gaze back at her. Thus, Aratus' Dikê, whose favorable disposition toward mortals turned

into loathing, and who, for Catullus, becomes Nemesis, the avenging goddess, in Lucretius' account becomes *Religio*, the scowling tyrant who shrivels into nothing when she encounters the courage and intelligence of Epicurus. Lucretius' example of the *impia facta* which are committed in her name, moreover, Agamemnon's sacrifice of his innocent daughter Iphigeneia (I. 84-101), is at least as outrageous as the sacrifice of the ploughing-ox, a deed which inspired in Aratus' Dikê an eternal loathing for mortals. Thus the piety which the aged ploughman admires in his ancestors (II. 1170, *pietate repletum*) merely reflects the old man's misinformation.

The "easy life" (*perfacile aevum*, II. 1171) of the ploughman's "pious" ancestors is depicted at greater length in the fifth book of Lucretius' poem (V. 925 ff.). It was, it appears, a simple, primitive existence, similar to the life of wild beasts:

multaque per caelum solis volventia lustra
vulgivago vitam tractabant more ferarum. (V. 931-2)

Man was both more hardy then, and more easily satisfied with the spontaneous produce of earth and sky:

quod sol atque imbres dederant, quod terra crearat
sponte sua, satis id placabat pectora donum. (V. 937-8)

On the other hand, earth was more generous with her bounty at that time:

et quae nunc hiberno tempore cernis
arbuta puniceo fieri matura colore,
plurima tum tellus etiam maiora ferebat. (V. 940-2)

Earth stops generating men, however. Gradually, as his style of living begins of necessity to change, mankind grows "soft," that is, he becomes civilized:

tum genus humanum primum mollescere coepit. (V. 1014)

He discovers fire with which to warm himself (1015), and begins to reproduce sexually, which leads to family life and, eventually, to the formation of society. As his civilization grows, he becomes increasingly alienated from nature, "walled off in his towers," while earth and sea become impersonal objects to be divided and exploited:

Iam validis saepti degebant turribus aevum
et divisa colebatur discretaque tellus;

tum mare velivolis florebat...
auxilia ac socios iam pacto foedere habebant,
carminibus cum res gestas coepere poetae
tradere.... (V. 1440-5)

The alienation of mankind from Mother Earth is here complete. It must be considered, however, whether mankind deserves such criticism for his response to what has become an hostile environment. According to Lucretius' philosophic system, the deterioration is inevitable and irreversible. It has nothing to do with religious piety or the extent of a man's labor. It is merely the result of a harsh scientific reality. Mankind's feeble attempt to protect himself is treated by Lucretius, I believe, with undue scorn, for according to Lucretius' account, man has no other choice.

The two extreme conditions of mankind depicted by Lucretius are parallel to the two extremes, in Hesiod's *Works and Days*, of the age of gold and the age of iron. Lucretius' use of the parent-child relationship between Mother Earth and mankind is also worth considering in the context of the parent-child relationships broached by Hesiod in his metallic myth and in his race of just men. Hesiod specifies that the individual metallic races are not related to one another; each race is destroyed and the subsequent race is created anew.

Hesiod's iron race is the first to be specifically harassed by disrespectful children, while its counterpart, the race of just men, is blessed with children exactly like their fathers. The members of the silver race, however, are children for one hundred years, or most of their lives, and during those hundred years, their lives are just as idle as are the lives of the members of the golden race. The golden race is supplied all its needs by a spontaneously beneficent earth. The mothers of the silver race are apparently equally beneficent in caring for their children, who resort to violence only when they finally reach adulthood, presumably because their mothers have died.[20]

Aratus modifies the metallic myth so that the silver race is descended from the golden race, and the bronze race from the silver race. The beneficence of earth, in Hesiod, and of Dikê, in Aratus, it must be realized, is never available to subsequent, inferior races, so that the later races are all forced to make the best of a less favorable environment. One wonders how well Hesiod's

[20] Fontenrose, p. 7.

golden race would have fared if earth had suddenly deprived them, too, of her beneficence. Dikê quits ploughing for mortals when Aratus' silver race appears, even though they might have expected her to render to them the same beneficence she had rendered so readily to their fathers. We are not told why she quits, other than her preference for the golden race. The same thing tends to happen in Lucretius' account. The real reason for the superiority of the primitive race was not their piety or any other virtue, but the physical youth and vigor of their generous mother. The present race of men have the misfortune of being born into an inferior environment, and therefore must resort to force of necessity, in order to protect themselves from a world they never made. This race in fact works increasingly harder, all the while it is deteriorating to its current desperate condition.

Catullus

Each of the metallic races in Hesiod's account reflects, in proportion to its metallic debasement, correspondingly greater moral deficiency. Although the passive idleness of the golden age is not presented by Hesiod as a fault, it soon becomes one when it appears in the silver race. The silver race becomes violent and hybristic, and the bronze race is so bad that not even its name survives. Aratus attempts to deal with the lack of activity in the golden race by introducing agriculture in that period, but in Aratus' account, the golden race itself does not participate in the agricultural activity. Instead, Dikê and the ploughing-ox do all the work for them.

Lucretius, like Hesiod, envisions a toil-free existence for the fortunate, early race of mortals. The subsequent races toil in vain to withstand ever-diminished hope for the race. Religion, meanwhile, drives them on, through fear and dread. Hesiod's silver race refused to make sacrifices to the gods, and thereby revealed their *impietas*. For Lucretius, however, such sacrifices prove paradoxically to be the *impia facta* of which the race of heroes, to which Agamemnon belonged, was guilty. Whereas for Hesiod the blessed race of heroes served to offset the evil race of bronze, for Lucretius the two races would be indistinguishable.

Catullus, like Lucretius, dwells on the deterioration of the human race. He focuses his attention on the race of heroes and on the current race, which is descended from them. In his 64th poem, he depicts the race of heroes with deadly irony. He begins his poem

with the voyage of the Argo and the resultant marriage of Peleus and Thetis, thereby immediately reversing the traditional accounts of this myth. In the traditional accounts, the voyage of the Argo took place after the wedding, in a pastoral rather than a luxurious, urban setting like the one in Catullus. The wedding, moreover, traditionally took place in spite of the vehement opposition of the bride.[21] In Catullus' version, Thetis is said to have longed passionately for Peleus (64.19-20), whom Catullus addresses, along with his contemporaries, as a hero, descended from the gods:

> o nimis optato saeclorum tempore nati
> heroes, salvete, deum genus! o bona matrum
> progenies, salvete iter<um. . .
> vos ego saepe, meo vos carmine compellabo. (64.22-24)

The physical companionship of the gods was one of the blessings enjoyed by mortals during the golden age. Later in this poem, after the Thessalian guests have departed, all the gods except Apollo and Diana come to Peleus' palace to attend the actual wedding. It is only the heroes themselves, however, as opposed to the rest of the population, who enjoy this privilege, for Catullus is quite explicit in telling us that all the other guests leave before the gods

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[21] The earliest reference is *Iliad* 18.434. R. Reitzenstein, "Die Hochzeit des Peleus und der Thetis," *Hermes* 35 (1900) 73-105, recounts a history of various treatments of this marriage. Earlier analyses of this poem have tended to emphasize a basic antithesis between the race of heroes and its similarities to the golden age on the one hand, and the decadence of the contemporary world. F. Klingner, *Catulls Peleus-Epos* (*Sitzungsb. Bayer. Akad. Wiss.* 1956) 5-92, for example, believes the poem consists of dramatically opposite effects which counterbalance one another. M. C. J. Putnam, "The Art of Catullus 64," *HSCP* 65 (1961) 165-205, examines echoes of Catullus' other poems in poem 64 and concludes that this poem deals symbolically with the poet's own experience with Lesbia and her brother. T. E. Kinsey, "Irony and Structure in Catullus 64," *Latomus* 24 (1965) 911-931, recognizes irony in Catullus' attitude toward the age of heroes, but concludes it is an excessively light-hearted irony. L. C. Curran, "Catullus 64 and the Heroic Age," *YCS* 21 (1969) 171-192, and J. C. Bramble, "Structure and Ambiguity in Catullus LXIV," *PCPS* 196 (n.s. 16) (1970) 22-41, show that Catullus' treatment of the race of heroes is highly ambiguous, particularly since the antithetical tale of Ariadne and Theseus is also set in the heroic age, as are the exploits of Achilles at the close of the poem. D. P. Harmon, "Nostalgia for the Age of Heroes in Catullus 64," *Latomus* 32 (1973) 311-331, however, maintains that Catullus is depicting the age of heroes as a time "when there was at least some hope" of justice, as opposed to the impossibility of justice in Catullus' Rome (p. 329). The text here is that of R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1958).

arrive. While the wedding of Peleus and Thetis is supposed to be the great instance of how gods mingled with men, in fact human and divine guests come to the palace at distinctly separate times.[22]

At the close of the poem Catullus reminds us of the traditional camaraderie between men and gods during the golden age:

> praesentes namque ante domos invisere castas
> heroum et sese mortali ostendere coetu
> caelicolae nondum spreta pietate solebant. (64.384-386)

He then elaborates categories of that camaraderie. We see that the relationship involves sacrifices (*conspexit terra centum procumbere tauros*, 389), bacchic frenzies (390-393), and the violent activities of war:

> saepe in letifero belli certamine Mavors
> aut rapidi Tritonis era aut Amarunsia virgo
> armatas hominum est praesens hortata catervas. (64.394-396)

For Catullus, the race of heroes is a race of warriors, who are idealized to excess (*nimis optato saeclorum tempore nati*, 22). As the poem unfolds, we see further evidence of his scepticism. This race had the initiative to sail on the sea, for Catullus the first men to do so:

> illa ⟨navis⟩ rudem cursu prima imbuit Amphitriten. (64.11)

Their motivation, however, was greed:[23]

> auratam optantes Colchis avertere pellem
> ausi sunt vada salsa cita decurrere puppi. (64.5-6)

This is the same motivation for which Ariadne castigates Theseus:

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[22] Curran, 185-186. F. Klingner, *Catulls Peleus-Epos* (*Sitzungsb. Bayer. Akad. Wiss.* 1956, 6) 13 ff., reviews the tradition wherein all the gods, including Apollo, attended the wedding, and the high honor their attendance signified for Peleus: he was especially beloved by the gods, who married him to a goddess (*Il.* 24.537; cf. Hes. fr. 81.3); Pindar refers to him as the highest example of earthly luck (*Isth.* 6.25; *Pyth.* 3.88). For Apollo's attendance, cf. *Il.* 24.62 ff.; Pind. *Nem.* 5.21.

[23] The opening lines of Catullus 64 contain numerous echoes of Ennius' version of Euripides' *Medea*, including the lament by Medea's nurse at the trickery employed by the Argonauts in their pursuit of the golden fleece: *Utinam ne . . . inchoandi exordium / coepisset . . . Argo, quia Argivi in ea delecti viri / vecti petebant pellem inauratam arietis / Colchis imperio regis Peliae per dolum* (254-262 V[3]); cf. Quinn, 299.

quis dum aliquid cupiens animus praegestit apisci,
nil metuunt iurare, nihil promittere parcunt:
sed simul ac cupidae mentis satiata libido est,
dicta nihil metuere, nihil periuria curant. (64.145-148)

At the close of the poem, we see that greed is restrained only by a sense of justice. Once men are freed of that restraint, the "Pandora's Box" of evils is opened:

sed postquam tellus scelere est imbuta nefando
iustitiamque omnes cupida de mente fugarunt,
perfudere manus fraterno sanguine fratres,
destitit extinctos gnatus lugere parentes,
optavit genitor primaevi funera nati,
liber ut innuptae poteretur flore novercae,
ignaro mater substernens se impia nato
impia non verita est divos scelerare penates. (64.397-404)

Many of these evils are not very far removed from the deeds elsewhere in the poem attributed to the "heroes" of this poem, deeds euphemistically referred to as *virtutes*. *Virtus* is used five times in this poem, first to describe the deeds depicted on the coverlet (51); Aegeus, bidding his son farewell, speaks of Theseus' *fervida virtus* (218); and finally, the Parcae use the word three times to introduce Achilles' violent deeds (64.323; 348; 357). Catullus' pejorative use of *virtus*, which has such positive connotations in other writers, is further evidence of Catullus' scepticism about the glory of the race of heroes.[24]

What, then, is the relationship between Catullus' race of heroes and the traditional myth which preceded this poem? This race is purportedly the same as Hesiod's race of heroes, as Catullus' terminology (e.g., *heroes*, 64.23) makes clear. Part of Hesiod's race of heroes died at Troy; we know that Achilles died at Troy, although Catullus refers not to Achilles' death but rather to his victims at Troy. Although Hesiod's race of heroes were in fact warriors, Hesiod assigns the negative connotations of that livelihood to a separate, accursed race of bronze. Catullus, by emphasizing the

[24] D. O. Ross, Jr., *Backgrounds to Augustan Poetry: Gallus, Elegy and Rome* (Cambridge 1975) 13-14. Harmon (pp. 324 ff.; 330-331) attempts to justify the cruelty inherent in *virtus*; Catullus, however, by focusing on the cruelty in *virtus*, allows little room for the justification of that cruelty. When Vergil uses *virtus* in the Fourth *Eclogue*, as will be seen, he is deliberately ambiguous as to whether it belongs to the arts of war (*pacatum virtutibus*) or peace (*virtutibus patris reget*). Vergil's ambiguity in this case is no doubt influenced by Catullus' indictment of *virtus*.

warlike activities of this race, in effect blends Hesiod's races of heroes and of bronze into a single race which is both blessed and cursed. Every positive detail about them has a negative connotation as well. Their *virtus*, a word which elsewhere has only positive connotations, is here shown to be questionable at best. Their desire to sail upon the sea is stimulated not so much by initiative and imagination as by greed. In Catullus' scheme, men banish justice from their "greedy minds" (64.398), prior to engaging in the perverse crimes which he lists at the close of the poem. The departure of justice in Catullus is, if anything, an event even more pessimistic than in Aratus' account, where she left of her own volition. In Catullus' version, the mortal race deliberately rejects her, reflecting its actively evil quality, as opposed to a certain innocence in Aratus' silver race, who do not seem to understand why she is departing.

Catullus' race of heroes, on the other hand, enjoy the companionship of the gods, a privilege also enjoyed by Aratus' race of gold. In effect, then, Catullus' race of heroes appears to be a blend of Hesiod's races of heroes and of bronze, and of Aratus' races of gold and of bronze. The linear chronology of Hesiod and Aratus thus completely disappears from Catullus' treatment of the myth, while significant features of each of those races are blended into Catullus' single race of heroes.[25]

Does Catullus' scheme take Hesiod's silver and iron races into account? His modification of the setting of the marriage of Peleus and Thetis from a pastoral scene to Peleus' luxurious, urban dwelling has already been noted. As Bramble observes, the opulent display is very much in opposition to the simple, natural wealth which springs spontaneously from the soil in the traditional, metallic golden age.[26] It is also in opposition to the agricultural wealth which these people have now abandoned in order to satisfy their need to gaze greedily at such wealth (*postquam cupide spectando expleta est*, 64.267-8):

> deseritur Cieros, linquunt Phthiotica Tempe
> Crannonisque domos ac moenia Larisaea,

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[25] For a similar interpretation, cf. G. Luck, "*Aratea*," *AJPh* 97 (1976) 213-234. Luck, moreover, shows strong verbal echoes of Cicero's *Aratea* in Cat. 64, and concludes that Catullus closely studied Cicero's translation as well as the original Greek of Aratus.

[26] Bramble, 38-39.

Pharsalum coeunt, Pharsalia tecta frequentant.
rura colit nemo, mollescunt colla iuvencis,
non humilis curvis purgatur vinea rastris,
non glebam prono convellit vomere taurus,
non falx attenuat frondatorum arboris umbram,
squalida desertis rubigo infertur aratris. (64.35-42)

Thessalian farmers, distracted by the rich opulence in Peleus' palace, are seriously disadvantaged by their admiration for the gold and silver and ivory and colorful wedding gifts in the palace. While they admire the wealth and glory of heroes, grain ceases to grow since the fields are uncultivated, the vines and trees are neglected, and the ploughing-ox loses its function. Soon the only thing that grows, spontaneously at that, is the rust creeping over the abandoned plough.

An important aspect of Catullus' treatment of the Hesiodic myth of the ages is the fact that he envisions mortals practicing agriculture before the emergence of the race of heroes, and that this agricultural existence is presented with a positive connotation. It was a simple, natural existence which was disrupted and even destroyed by the greed-motivated exploits of these heroes. Such a simplicity also is attributed to Ariadne's life on Crete prior to the arrival of Theseus. This quality is seen in particular in the sweet scent of her bed, where her loving mother cared for her, and which is compared to the scent of myrtle trees and spring flowers: [27]

quales Eurotae praecingunt flumina myrtus
aurave distinctos educit verna colores. (64.89-90)

The agricultural life of the Thessalian population may be a reflection of Aratus' account of the silver race, for in that account Dikê stops ploughing after the golden race and withdraws to the mountains, coming down only at evening to meet with the human race in assembly. Catullus' race of heroes, like Hesiod's races of heroes and of gold, enjoy freedom from toil and the company of the gods, but they also exist concurrently with the *Thessala pubes*—farmers who, like Aratus' silver race, enjoy the company of the gods only in crowds (*mortali coetu*). Catullus' account of the deeds,

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[27] In Ariadne's lament, by contrast, she longs even to be Theseus' slave so that she might smooth his bed with a purple coverlet (163), a striking reminder of the coverlet on which she herself now appears. The irony here is seen by the narrator, not, as Harmon (p. 321) maintains, by Ariadne. She is too heart-broken to be sarcastic about that longing.

as opposed to the advantages, of the race of heroes, on the other hand, makes this race more similar to Aratus' race of bronze than of gold.

Catullus, in fact, seems to join the races of bronze and of heroes in such a way as to emphasize the ambiguous glory of a group of warriors. We might compare the awe-struck farmers, gaping in wonder at the magnificent wealth and *virtutes* of these heroes, all of which are quite harmful for the rest of the human race, to the awe-struck farmers of Aratus' silver race, gazing at Dikê as she indignantly withdraws to the mountains. As she withdraws, she rebukes them with being inferior to their ancestors, the golden race, and prophesies that the next (bronze) race will know "wars, cruel bloodshed, and grievous woe" (*Phaen.* 124-6). As she departs, the people stare helplessly after her.

Later in the poem, Catullus directly juxtaposes his description of the divine camaraderie enjoyed by the race of heroes to the list of crimes which characterize his own time (397 ff.). Enclosing that list of crimes is the withdrawal of justice from the human race:

> sed postquam tellus scelere est imbuta nefando
> iustitiamque omnes cupida de mente fugarunt,
>
> . . .
>
> omnia fanda nefanda malo permixta furore
> iustificam nobis mentem avertere deorum.
> quare nec talis dignantur visere coetus,
> nec se contingi patiuntur lumine claro. (64.397-398; 405-408)

The banishment of justice from men's greedy minds, the gods turning away their *iustificam mentem* and refusing to visit gatherings of the mortal race any longer, these are clearly echoes of the departure of Aratus' Dikê after the outrage of the race of bronze. The last detail (*nec se contingi patiuntur lumine claro*, 408), however, is a curious echo of the situation of Aratus' silver race. Dikê continued to visit this race in assembly, but only in the evening.[28] Here, too, we are told that the gods refuse to be met with in the light of day. It is an ironically hopeful note on which to close the poem, for if

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[28] This may be the source of Vergil's assertion, *extrema per illos ⟨agricolas⟩ Iustitia excedens terris vestigia fecit* (*G.* 2.473-474). Solmsen (n. 12, above) recognizes the similarity between the life Saturnus led on earth and the role *Iustitia* played in that life. Catullus, in keeping with the pessimistic tradition concerning the myth of the ages, thinks in terms of the decline of the races, and of the departure of the gods from the race, but he also ironically questions the value of their companionship.

the gods can still be encountered, even at night, by the current race of men, there is still some hope for recalling justice to the human race. On the other hand, did not the gods encourage the previous, heroic race on to ever more terrible *virtutes*, which in turn have led to the current disastrous heritage of the human race?

CHAPTER FOUR

VERGIL AND THE METALLIC MYTH

As the preceding survey shows, the myth of the golden age has acquired highly ambiguous, if not downright pessimistic, connotations by the time Vergil begins to use it in the Fourth *Eclogue.* It was, on the one hand, an ideal time because of the leisured existence enjoyed by mortals, all of whose needs were provided either spontaneously or through the beneficence of some divinity. An essential part of the myth, however, is the hopeless deterioration of all races subsequent to the original, golden race, with perhaps the exception of the race of heroes. For both Lucretius and Catullus, moreover, the idealization of this race, too, is markedly diminished.

Catullus' 64th poem has particular bearing on Vergil's Fourth *Eclogue,* as unmistakable echoes of this poem in the Fourth *Eclogue* show. It is clear that Vergil is quite familiar with Catullus' poem.[1] While Catullus dwells on a terrible prophecy,[2] however, Vergil's Fourth *Eclogue* is the most hopeful of prophecies: a golden age,

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[1] "The most striking and significant influence <of Catullus> is seen in Vergil's *Messianic Eclogue.* Catullus' epyllion (64), the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, with the tragedy of Ariadne inserted in a truly Hellenistic way, made a lasting impression on Vergil," R. E. H. Westendorp Boerma, "Vergil's Debt to Catullus," *AClass* 1 (1958) 55. Even more significant than the verbal echoes, however, are the ideas, which Vergil adapts to his own context. Cf. Westendorp Boerma, 56; Wilkinson, *Entretiens 2,* 241, E. Linkomies, "Vergils vierte Eklogue," *Arctos* 1 (1930) 168-187; H. J. Rose, *The Eclogues of Vergil* (1942) 201-3; G. Williams, *Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry* (Oxford 1968) 281-2; E. W. Leach, "*Eclogue* 4: Symbolism and Sources," *Arethusa* 4 (1971) 167-184; J. Ferguson, "Catullus and Vergil," *PVS* 11 (1971-2) 25-47; Wigodsky, 126 ff.; R. G. G. Coleman, *Vergil*: *Eclogues* (London 1977) 139 ff. I. M. Le M. DuQuesnay, "Vergil's Fourth *Eclogue,*" *PLLS 1976* (1977) 52 ff. analyzes *Ec.* 4 not only as an imitation of Cat. 64, but also as Vergil's imitation of Theocr. 17, i.e., as a *basilikon* in honor of the Roman consul, Pollio.

[2] I.e., the birth of Achilles and its consequences. J. Granarolo, *L'Oeuvre de Catulle* (Paris 1967) 155, and Bramble, p. 23 n. 4 and pp. 34 ff., believe that the coverlet in Catullus 64 is prophetic. Leach (*Arethusa* 4, 174-5 and 183 n. 21), who also observes the antithesis between the prophecies of the Parcae in Catullus 64 and in *Eclogue* 4, believes Vergil's optimism is rooted in Plato's *Laws.* Cf. F. Solmsen, "Hesiodic Motifs in Plato," *Entretiens* 7, 171-212.

no longer relegated to the distant past, is about to begin, concurrent with the birth of an unnamed child.[3]

The statement that the golden age will recur is in itself unique in the Greco-Roman tradition. Alföldi, however, has identified coins dated as early as 43 B.C., which refer to the golden age and hence precede the composition of the Fourth *Eclogue.*[4] Weinstock, moreover, has shown that there was current in Rome, in the late Republic, a great deal of talk about the rebirth of Rome. This notion was initiated into Roman affairs by Cicero, who claimed that distinction for the Nones of December 63, the day the senate decided to take action against the Catilinarians. Later, Cicero briefly considered basing the beginning of a new era on the death of Clodius (18 January 52). The Parilia (21 April) was identified with the birthday of Rome, with Romulus as its founder. In 45 B.C., after news of Caesar's victory over Pompey's sons at Munda arrived at Rome on the day preceding the Parilia, special games were held at this festival in Caesar's honor, and Caesar's relationship to

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[3] The identity of the child has been debated at length. The arguments for and against each of the human candidates are most recently summarized by Coleman, *Vergil: Eclogues* (1977) 150-152; V. Schmidt, *Redeunt Saturnia Regna* (diss. Groningen, 1977) 96-100, and I. M. Le M. DuQuesnay, "Vergil's Fourth Eclogue," *Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar 1976* (1977) 31-38. Those who believe the child is real have tended toward the conclusion that it will be the offspring of either Octavian and Scribonia, or of Antony and Octavia. The latter pair has been the more strongly favored in recent years. H. J. Mette, "Vergil, Bucol. 4," *RhM* 116 (1973) 71-78, argues that the child would thus bear the qualities of both his uncle and his father. DuQuesnay also favors the latter set of parents and attributes the subsequent confusion about the child's identity less to the fact that it turned out to be a girl than to Antony's subsequent fall from power. Büchner's conclusion (col. 191), however, that this was a symbolic rather than a real child, seems to be a much more viable theory. Berg develops this idea into his theory that the *puer* was Vergil's literary hero of the future; Coleman explains the child as a "symbol of the divine forces that will bring the *novom saeculum* to pass" (152). Schmidt dwells on the influence of Catullus' epithalamia (especially 61 and 64) on the Fourth *Eclogue*, thereby providing what may be the final clue to the puzzle: Catullus 64 celebrates the marriage between two traditionally discordant figures, Peleus and Thetis. Their marriage will be sealed by the birth of their celebrated offspring and the destruction he represents. Vergil is also celebrating a "marriage" of sorts—the settlement at Brundisium—between two equally discordant figures, namely Antony and Octavian. The offspring of this union, however, will be not a destructive warrior like Achilles, but instead the new golden age of which the *puer* is the symbol.

[4] A. Alföldi, "Der neue Weltherrscher der IV Ekloge Vergils," *Hermes* 65 (1930) 369-384.

Romulus, the foundation of Rome, and the Parilia itself were jointly honored. The new version of the Parilia signalled that this birthday of Rome would be the beginning of a new era based on Caesar's rule and legislation.[5] The messianic role of the unborn child is familiar in other traditions, as has long been recognized.[6] The Fourth *Eclogue* is the earliest known attempt in the Greco-Roman tradition to combine the idea of the return of the golden age with the birth of a child, however, although Catullus' negative prophecy seems to have been an important model for Vergil. Vergil, of course, completely reverses, in his prophecy, the pessimism of Catullus.

Whereas Catullus writes about the ambiguous glory of the race of heroes, moreover, Vergil joyfully anticipates the coming *nova progenies*, a race which will be free of toil, including agricultural toil, as in Hesiod's golden age. All mortal needs will be provided spontaneously:

> *nullo* munuscula *cultu* ... tellus ... fundet. (*Ec.* 4.18-20)

> *ipsae* lacte domum referent distenta capellae
> ubera. (*Ec.* 4.21-22)

> *incultisque* rubens pendebit sentibus uva,
> et durae quercus sudabunt roscida mella. (*Ec.* 4.29-30)

In Aratus, the plough and the ploughing-ox, under the direction of Dikê, provided mortals with all their needs. For Vergil, their very use indicates a period of degeneration:

> pauca tamen suberunt priscae vestigia fraudis...
> quae iubeant telluri infindere sulcos. (*Ec.* 4.31-33)

In the Fourth *Eclogue*, Vergil envisions a golden age consistent with Hesiod's golden age, an age particularly characterized by freedom from toil. It is this feature which makes it supremely desirable, and at the same time supremely unattainable. For Hesiod, agricultural toil was one of the curses of the race of iron.

[5] Dio 43.42.3; 53.45.2-3, and S. Weinstock, *Divus Julius* (Oxford 1971) 189 n. 6.

[6] E. Norden, *Die Geburt des Kindes*: *Geschichte einer religiösen Idee* (Stuttgart 1924; repr. Darmstadt 1958) 50, 138, 142, 147-157, believed that Vergil had drawn upon a Sibylline oracle to define the *puer*. G. Jachmann, "Die vierte Ekloge Vergils," *Annali della scuola normale di Pisa* (lettere, storia, e filosofia) 21 (1952) 13-62, who believes that the *puer* would be a child of Octavian and Scribonia, shows that Vergil did not go beyond his own literary tradition to depict the coming golden age. For a useful summary of Norden's theories and their impact, cf. Berg, 156-8.

For Vergil, too, agricultural toil must end if the *gens ferrea* is to be replaced by a *gens aurea* (*Ec.* 4.8-9). For Catullus, by contrast, a decline begins when farmers neglect their fields and instead satisfy their need to gaze greedily at the wealth in Peleus' palace:

quae postquam cupide spectando Thessala pubes
expleta est, sanctis coepit decedere divis. (64.267-268)

The destructive force of greed is suggested again at the close of that poem, where Catullus' contemporaries are said to have banished justice from their greedy minds (*iustitiamque omnes cupida de mente fugarunt*, 64.398).

In the Fourth *Eclogue*, then, Vergil, like Hesiod, associates toil with a period of decline. Like Catullus, moreover, he also associates the exploits of the race of heroes with the beginning of decline. Just as Catullus' race of heroes exist simultaneously with Thessalian farmers, Vergil anticipates that the recurrence of agriculture and of navigation will take place in close proximity to each other, both motivated by the same *vestigia fraudis*:

pauca tamen suberunt priscae vestigia fraudis,
quae temptare Thetim ratibus, quae cingere muris
oppida, quae iubeant telluri infindere sulcos.
alter erit tum Tiphys, et altera quae vehat Argo
delectos heroas; erunt etiam altera bella
atque iterum ad Troiam magnus mittetur Achilles. (*Ec.* 4.31-36)

Vestigia fraudis, echoing line 13 (*sceleris vestigia nostri*), is usually thought to refer to some vague ancestral wrong, such as Laomedon's deception (cf. *G.* 1.502: *Laomedonteae luimus periuria Troia*) or perhaps more generally to the Roman history of civil wars, beginning with the murder of Remus. The context of the phrase, however, clearly alludes to the voyage of the Argonauts and Catullus' account of it. The encounter between Peleus and Thetis, implied in line 32, leads to the building of city walls (to protect one's possessions) and the desire to till the soil (a source of wealth). Another such voyage will lead to another Achilles, and another Trojan war, the first of many to revive *perpetua formido* (14) for the human race.[7]

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[7] F. Klingner, *Römische Geisteswelt* I (Wiesbaden 1952) 164, suggested that Vergil envisions the mortal race working backward through the inferior ages toward the golden age, an idea found in Plato (*Politicus* 269c ff.), where it is said that the perfection of the golden age can be obtained if the Supreme Power withdraws his hand from the helm, permitting the world to reverse its course. Although many critics still prefer Klingner's interpreta-

What exactly was that *prisca fraus* which motivated the Argonauts to set sail? Catullus tells us it was a desire to obtain the golden fleece, and subsequently we see in his poem repeated references to the destructive force of greed, which is pursued in particular through lies and deception. Such, certainly, is Ariadne's charge:

quis dum aliquid cupiens animus praegestit apisci,
nil metuunt iurare, nihil promittere parcunt:
sed simul ac cupidae mentis satiata libido est,
dicta nihil metuere, nihil periuria curant. (64.145-148)

Cupidus is also used to describe Ariadne's ruinous passion for Theseus (*hunc simul ac cupido conspexit lumine virgo*, 64.86), a passion which led her to betray her "brother", the Minotaur (64.181). The charge of greed and deception is also directed against the Argonauts by Medea's nurse in Ennius' translation of that tragedy:

Argo, quia Argivi in ea delecti viri
vecti petebant pellem inauratam arietis
Colchis imperio regis Peliae per dolum... (250-252 V[3])

Greed and deception are totally contradictory to, and hence destructive of, the communal principles of the golden age anticipated in the Fourth *Eclogue*, just as they are for Catullus' innocent *Thessala pubes*, who abandon their fields to admire Peleus' wealth. By using the voyage of the Argo as the beginning of the decline, Vergil acknowledges Catullus' pessimism but, by reversing the connotation of a number of details with which Catullus recounted the decline, Vergil emphasizes his own overriding optimism. Thus he proclaims that justice, who in Aratus' account fled in disgust, and in Catullus' account was banished by greedy men, will now return (*iam redit et virgo*, *Ec.* 4.6). Apollo, who was one of the two deities who refused to attend the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, will not only be present but will now rule (*tuus iam regnat Apollo*, *Ec.* 4.10). Once again, moreover, gods and heroes (there will of course be no farmers) will mingle:

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tion, Becker's arguments for the rejection (particularly by Jachmann, who argued that Vergil instead describes a fall *from* the new golden age) of Klingner's theory is more persuasive. It should be noted that, for Vergil as for Catullus, Achilles symbolizes the violence of war. Cf. the description of Achilles' son, Pyrrhus in *A*. 2.469 ff. and R. D. Williams' observation (p. 246) that the snake simile in *A*. 2.471 ff. associates "the renewed snake (*novus*) with the renewal of Achilles in Neoptolemus (which in Greek means 'new war')."

ille deum vitam accipiet divisque videbit
permixtos heroas et ipse videbitur illis. (*Ec.* 4.15-16)

incipe, parve puer: qui non risere parenti,
nec deus hunc mensa, dea nec dignata cubili est. (*Ec.* 4.62-63) ,

The ambiguity of Catullus' heroes creeps in even here, however, first with the term *heroas* (16), and then in the term *virtutibus* (17). The child will rule a world pacified by his father's *virtutibus*, on the surface a word with positive connotations, but not when taken in the context of Catullus' poem. The only way to avoid the military meaning of the word is to translate it with *reget* rather than with *pacatum*,[8] but such an interpretation would indicate no real change between the present age and the coming golden age. When the word reappears a few lines later, it is cautiously qualified:

at simul heroum laudes et facta parentis
iam legere et quae sit poteris cognoscere virtus. (*Ec.* 4.26-27)

The child will not directly experience *heroum laudes* and *facta parentis*: he will read about them, and thus learn vicariously *quae sit virtus*, for the deeds of heroes can only be learned in war, and that experience belongs to an age of decline, not to a golden age.

A final, unmistakable echo of Catullus' poem is the presence of the Parcae. In Catullus' poem, the entire prophecy of the birth and life of Achilles is contained within their song. Vergil's entire poem, however, is a prophecy analogous to the song of Catullus' Parcae, whose reappearance in the Fourth *Eclogue* recalls their appearance in Catullus' poem. The tone of Vergil's poem is of course directly opposite to that of the song of Catullus' Parcae. The latter sing of the birth and life of a child and the disastrous age in which he will not only live but for which he will also bear some responsibility. Vergil's poem, too, sings of the birth and life of a child, but in this case it will be a joyous age for which this child will in some way be responsible.

The Fourth *Eclogue* can thus be seen as a prophecy counteracting the pessimism of Catullus 64. The essence of Vergil's poem, however, is that the myth of the ages is no longer a theme of hopeless decline. If the birth of a child can signal a series of disasters, it can also have the opposite effect. In the *Georgics*, Vergil will broaden the potential for such a recurrence by tying it to the cycles of nature;

[8] *patriis virtutibus* can be interpreted as being governed by *pacatum*, "a world pacified by his father's virtues," or by *reget*, "he will rule a pacified world with his father's virtues." Cf. Coleman, p. 135.

the fulfillment of every potential new golden age will thereby become dependent upon the efforts of the individual farmer.

In the Fourth *Eclogue*, Vergil has not yet come to terms with the means of attaining the golden age of which he sings. Here the golden age will be a time of freedom from toil, which will be possible because all men's needs will somehow be provided spontaneously. There will be no need for private property, and hence no reason for cupidity or deception.[9] In the Sixth *Eclogue*, we see again that *Saturnia regna* (41) were undermined by a theft, this time the theft of Prometheus, which in fact marked the beginning of skills for mankind. The development of skills led to the voyage of the Argonauts, and finally to the total degeneration of the race, as represented by the tale of Pasiphae and her passion for the white bull (45 ff.).

Prometheus' theft, particularly after the time of Aeschylus' *Prometheus Vinctus*, had acquired the symbolism of the beginning of mental and material progress for mankind. The theory of the progress of the human race from primitive origins to the current level of technological sophistication directly opposes the metallic myth of the decline of the races from a past state of felicity to the current debased existence.[10] In the Fourth *Eclogue*, Vergil is content with what is in effect a merging of the felicitous ends of these two spectra.

In the *Georgics*, perhaps because of the very topic of the poem, and perhaps because he genuinely wishes to see the realization of a happier existence during his lifetime, Vergil no longer condemns

[9] Cf. L. P. Wilkinson, "Virgil's Theodicy," *CQ* n.s. 13 (1963) 75-84. Wilkinson similarly interprets Jupiter's motive, but believes that Jupiter's real purpose was above all to provide humanity with a great *variety* of things to do. I would tend to agree more with P. Grimal, *Entretiens* 7, 260 ff., that for Vergil work here becomes an end in itself, providing the farmer with endless rewards, only some of which are physically tangible. H. Altevogt, *Labor Improbus* (1952) maintains that Vergil considers agricultural toil an unwelcome burden; E. M. Stehle, "Virgil's *Georgics*: The Threat of Sloth," *TAPA* 104 (1974) 347-369 recognizes that Jupiter's deed was a beneficent one.

[10] Posidonius, who tended to follow two conflicting theories whereby man simultaneously advanced technologically and declined morally, influenced Vergil's antecedents, Sallust, Catullus, and Lucretius, who exhibited equally contradictory trains of thought. Like Posidonius, who believed Sulla would halt the decline, Sallust (*Hist.* frags. 8-11) hoped that Caesar, before his death, would achieve this end for mankind. Cf. K. Reckford, "Some Appearances of the Golden Age," *CJ* 54 (1958) 79-87 and F. Klingner, "Über die Einleitung der Historien Sallusts," *Hermes* 63 (1928) 165-192.

the skills of the farmer, for he begins to recognize their potential to produce a happier existence. The ideal of the metallic myth, that men should be free from toil, is now said to be harmful for men, for it leads to dulled wits and lethargy. Jupiter's removal of the benefits of the metallic golden age was therefore a beneficent act. As men developed skills, they gained greater control over their own lives, and were less subject to chance. The determinism of the metallic myth also runs contrary to the notion of progress, which Vergil espouses in the first *Georgic.* Yet as this poem, and also the *Aeneid,* proceeds, we again find favorable allusions to the golden age. Although we are told in the first *Georgic* that it bred lethargy and dull-wittedness, in the second *Georgic* we see the farmer enjoying a life which bears some similarities to that of the golden age, but with the additional satisfaction that the beneficence of nature is now a response to his toil and inventiveness.

Italy, moreover, is shown to be the land where a new golden age is most likely to recur. She is blessed with good weather, rich soil, and is inhabited by an ambitious, hard-working race of people. At the close of this book, Saturnus is said to have lived the life of a farmer in Italy. A precedent has already been set: an agriculturally-based golden age once occurred in this land, and nothing prevents its recurrence. Vergil's instructions to the farmer will lead him to the achievement of a new golden age.

In the *Aeneid,* Vergil's prophecy of the Fourth *Eclogue* is repeated. The speaker now is Jupiter. He utters his prophecy at a much greater distance in time, and he is also much more specific in the prophecy itself. The ruler of the new golden age will be Augustus. The agricultural basis of the earlier golden age, moreover, becomes very clear in the second half of the *Aeneid:* the subtle suggestions of the *Georgics* are now confirmed unambiguously.

Vergil's conception, then, of a golden age shifts from a time of mortal happiness based upon unlimited leisure to a time of satisfaction and joy achieved through thought and toil. His dramatic reappraisal seems to take place at the time he is writing the *Georgics.* This reappraisal could be dismissed as merely an attempt to idealize a harsh mode of life, but in fact Vergil's notion of the golden age as agricultural persists in the *Aeneid.* A more likely explanation of this changing conception of a golden age may lie in the flow of events during the poet's lifetime. The mythical quality of the golden age predicted in the Fourth *Eclogue* may reflect the preca-

rious stability of political life at Rome when this poem was written. Antony and Octavian had recently agreed, at Brundisium, to settle certain of their differences. Vergil's gradual removal, in the *Georgics,* of the golden age from the realm of mythology into a somewhat more viable milieu may reflect the increasing stability of the Roman state as Octavian gained control and finally defeated Antony. The essential modification, whereby the golden age becomes agricultural, takes place in the *Georgics,* which Vergil was composing while Octavian was still contending with Antony. Vergil completed the poem within the two years following Octavian's victory at Actium, and read it to the young victor when he returned from his campaigns in the East.[11]

The transition of the golden age theme from a metallic to an agricultural concept made this a feasible motif for the new ruler and his realm. In 17 B.C., Horace (*Carm. Saec.*) praised the accomplishments of the new ruler in terms highly reminiscent of Vergil's agricultural golden age, and in 13 B.C. the *Ara Pacis Augustae,* planned in honor of Augustus' return from Spain and Gaul, seems to have depicted a relief of *Itala tellus* in human form, surrounded by agricultural abundance. It has been suggested that the so-called "*Tellus* relief" is in fact a visual rendering of the *laudes Italiae* (*G.* 2.136-176), a depiction of the *aureum saeculum* which was to be created by the Pax Augusta.[12]

Vergil establishes, in the *Georgics,* a connection between the farmer's life and that of the golden race by emphasizing the abundance of agricultural wealth which comes to the farmer, once he has mastered his skills, *as if* it came spontaneously. He judiciously avoids using metallic adjectives to denote races of mortals, for such labels, because of their deterministic connotation, would tend to

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[11] For the date of the composition of the Fourth *Eclogue,* cf. L. Berkowitz, "Pollio and the Date of the Fourth *Eclogue,*" *CSCA* 5 (1972) 21-38, and references there. Berkowitz argues that the poem was composed in 41 B.C., before Pollio assumed office; others have argued that the poem was not composed until the Fall of 40 B.C., after the treaty of Brundisium was arranged. The completed *Georgics,* according to Donatus, were read to Augustus when he returned from his victory at Actium in 29 B.C. See Donatus, *Vita Verg.* 27; L. P. Wilkinson, *Georgics,* 69-70; E. A. Schmidt, *Zur Chronologie der Eklogen Vergils,* Abh. Ak. Heidelberg, 1974.

[12] E. Simon, *Ara Pacis Augustae* (New York, 1967); G. Moretti, *L'Ara Pacis Augustae* (1938); H. P. L'Orange, "Ara Pacis Augustae: La zona floreale," *Institutum Romanum Norvegiae*: Acta I (1962) 7-16; J. M. C. Toynbee, "The Ara Pacis Reconsidered," *Proc. Br. Acad.* (1953); *JRS* 51 (1961) 153-56; S. Weinstock, "Pax and the Ara Pacis," *JRS* 50 (1960) 44-58.

negate the more important thesis that the farmer, by working in concert with the cycles of nature, can bear at least some responsibility for bringing about a new golden age for himself and for Rome. On the other hand, he does make frequent reference to the metals which Hesiod used to distinguish the races of mortals, as well as to the golden age itself. In the first *Georgic* (1.121 ff.), he clearly alludes to the termination of the toil-free golden age of Hesiod and of the Fourth *Eclogue*, but his conception of that age here contrasts sharply with the golden age of the Fourth *Eclogue*. In the first place, he appears to resume Hesiod's linear chronology instead of retaining the cyclical chronology which he had introduced in the Fourth *Eclogue*. His attitude toward the golden age also differs sharply from his attitude in the Fourth *Eclogue*, for he no longer considers the end of the Hesiodic golden age a deterioration of mortal existence.

He now indicates that the termination of the golden age was beneficial for mortals, for the comparatively superficial blessings of Hesiod's golden age tended to dull their wits and their lives:

> ⟨pater ipse⟩ nec torpere gravi passus sua regna
> veterno. (*G.* 1.124)

During the Hesiodic golden age, mortals were free not only of all care, but also of all function, since the earth spontaneously supplied all their needs. When Jupiter terminated the golden age, Vergil now concludes, he forced mortals to develop their mental and physical powers.

In the second *Georgic*, Vergil shows the degree to which the Italians have fulfilled the goal set for them by Jupiter and the promise of their land, as he sings the praise of Italy, the *Saturnia tellus* (*G.* 2.173).[13] There is a passing reference to the vinedresser's hook as the tool of Saturnus (*curvo Saturni dente*, *G.* 2.406), and, at the close of this book, Saturnus is said to have lived the life of a farmer during the golden age:

> ante etiam sceptrum Dictaei regis et ante
> impia quam caesis gens est epulata iuvencis,
> aureus hanc vitam in terris Saturnus agebat;
> necdum etiam audierant inflari classica, necdum
> impositos duris crepitare incudibus ensis. (*G.* 2.536-40)

[13] Cf. Ennius *Ann.* 25 V^{3}: *Saturnia terra.*

These three references to Saturnus reflect several traditions surrounding this deity. He is first referred to in the context of abundance. Vergil has just listed the natural riches of other lands, and has set them in contrast to Italy's natural wealth, including not only her geographical advantages, but also the skill and physical prowess of her people. As Borszák has shown, Vergil here rejects the truism that lands which are unusually fertile tend to be inhabited by "soft," unwarlike peoples: the *Saturnia tellus* is rich both in crops and in heroes (*magna parens frugum, . . . magna virum*, *G.* 2.173-4).[14]

Another connotation of *Saturnia tellus* in this passage comes from the etymology whereby, albeit incorrectly, Saturnus was derived from *saturare*. Anderson has shown that Vergil recognized and made use of this etymology in the *Aeneid*.[15] Although the primary sense of *Saturnia tellus* in this passage is the association with *Saturnus* and the golden age, the context of this passage also suggests a sense of repletion, for this land is overflowing with riches.

The second reference to Saturnus (*G.* 2.406), with his bent pruning-hook, reflects the agricultural origins of this god. An etymology which derives his name from *satus* has some bearing here. The tool which he wields, however, may also suggest the sickle with which Hesiod's Cronus overcame his father, and thus may also carry an allusion to the metallic myth through this reference to Saturnus' Greek counterpart.

The third reference (*G.* 2.538) follows a lengthy account of the happy life of the farmer, for whom the earth seems to produce her riches spontaneously. Justice has left her traces among these farmers:

extrema per illos
Iustitia excedens terris vestigia fecit, (*G.* 2.473-4)

and these lingering "traces" of Justice are demonstrated by the equitable return which the farmers receive from the seed they regularly invest in *Saturnia tellus*:

fundit humo facilem victum iustissima tellus. (*G.* 2.460)

In the third reference, then, to Saturnus, this deity unambiguously appears in the context of an agricultural existence. He enjoyed

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[14] I. Borzsák, "Von Hippokrates Bis Vergil," *Virgiliana: Recherches sur Virgile*, ed. H. Bardon and R. Verdière (Leiden 1971) 41-55.

[15] W. S. Anderson, "Juno and Saturn in the *Aeneid*," *SPh* 55 (1958) 523.

hanc vitam, the life of a farmer, during the period before Jupiter came to power. Saturnus himself was golden at that time:

aureus hanc vitam in terris Saturnus agebat. (*G.* 2.538)

The very word order of line 538 suggests that the epithet *aureus* is directly related to the manner in which he lived. He was golden because he lived the life of a farmer.

At this point it will be useful to consider Vergil's other references in the *Georgics* to the metals traditionally ascribed to the races of men in the metallic myth. It will be seen that Vergil uses these metals in such a way as to oppose their traditional, deterministic connotations with respect to the metallic myth.

It must first be emphasized that, in the *Georgics*, Vergil never modifies *gens*, *genus*, *aetas*, or *saeculum*, any of which might be used to denote an "age" or "race" of mortals, with adjectives denoting the metals of Hesiod's metallic myth. *Gens* and *genus* are used throughout the poem. *Aetas* is used only with reference to plants or animals, never to people, and the meaning is always a particular phase of life. *Aetas* is used in reference to:

a)	the vine:	ac dum primum novis adolescit frondibus *aetas*, (*G.* 2.362)
b)	horses:	*aetas* Lucinam iustosque pati hymenaeos desinit ante decem, (*G.* 3.60-1)
c)	cattle:	dum faciles animi iuvenum, dum mobilis *aetas*. (*G.* 3.165)

Vergil does use *saeculum* in the way that Hesiod uses γένος, meaning "generation" or "age of men," but, it must be recognized, never with metallic adjectives:

impiaque aeternam timuerunt *saecula* noctem. (*G.* 1.468)

hunc saltem *everso* iuvenum succurrere *saeclo*
ne prohibite. (*G.* 1.500-1)

multa virum volvens durando *saecula* vincit. (*G.* 2.295)

In the *Georgics*, then, by carefully avoiding references to metallic races of mortals, Vergil also avoids the deterministic attitude implicit in the metallic myth. Instead, he refers to certain human failings which some generations of mortals share with Hesiod's metallic races. The impiety of Romans who engaged in the civil wars (*G.* 1.468) is particularly analogous to the impiety of Hesiod's inferior races, especially to the impiety of his iron race.

Three of the metals of Hesiod's myth, gold, silver, and bronze, appear in Vergil's poem in a context which is either favorable or pejorative. A favorable context for gold is its fabrication into cups that are used to offer libations:

> hic laticis, qualem pateris libamus et auro,
> inflavit cum pinguis ebur Tyrrhenus ad aras
> lancibus et pandis fumantia reddimus exta. (*G.* 2.192-4)

Here the wine, the gold cups, the ivory pipe of the sleek Etruscan, and the quantity of entrails which are so abundant that the platter bends beneath their weight, all contribute to a sense of richness and luxury. These are elements of a pious ritual, moreover, so that the luxury here can only be construed in a wholly favorable context.

Earlier in this book, in the section usually referred to as the *Laudes Italiae*, Vergil initiates his praise of Italy as follows:

> Sed neque Medorum silvae, ditissima terra,
> nec pulcher Ganges atque auro turbidus Hermus
> laudibus Italiae certent. (*G.* 2.136-8)

The superfluity of gold found in the river Hermus might be compared with the spontaneous production of luxurious items predicted for the golden age of the Fourth *Eclogue*, and whose loss is reported in the first *Georgic* (*G.* 1.121 ff.). Instead of honey dripping from the leaves of trees or wine flowing in streams, this land has gold flowing so thickly in the streams as to make them "muddy" with gold. The wealth is even greater than in the golden age which Jupiter beneficently terminated—and correspondingly less beneficial for mankind, who cannot drink muddy water, even if the mud consists of gold. The luxury and wealth here depicted constitute a positive standard which nevertheless fades into insignificance when compared with the agricultural bounty of the Italian countryside.

Another favorable context for gold is its use in the fabrication of the doors of the temple which Vergil will build for Octavian:

> in foribus pugnam ex auro solidoque elephanto
> Gangaridum faciam victorisque arma Quirini. (*G.* 3.26-7)

Here gold serves not only as ornamentation, but to enhance the commemoration of recent Roman history. Gold and ivory will be used to depict the victories of Octavian. The victories will be depicted on the doors of a temple built in his honor.

The negative aspect of gold, on the other hand, is its ability to distort personal values, even though its benefits may be minimal, if not actually harmful, for the individual. At the close of the second *Georgic*, where the life of the city-dweller is contrasted with that of the farmer, almost every detail of life in the city serves to support the thesis that the life of the farmer is preferable. This contrast, indeed, is also found in the role of gold in the two modes of life. Earth provides the farmer with riches in abundance (*G.* 2.469). The farmer's riches, however, instead of jewels and gold and other external indicators of wealth, consist of the blessings peculiar to this mode of life: simple foods in generous supply, a devoted family, and a sense of accomplishment for himself and security for his family. Highlighting this life are rustic pleasures, such as the harvest festival at the close of the book (*G.* 2.527-31). The farmer, finally, enjoys all these blessings in a peaceful setting (*procul discordibus armis*; *secura quies*, *G.* 2.458; 467). This was the life of *aureus Saturnus*, too; Saturnus, in turn, was *aureus* precisely because he lived this mode of life. The farmer, like Saturnus, enjoys a life which is golden instead of the cold metal.

Like the gold in the river Hermus, by contrast, the wealth admired by the city-dweller himself is superficial and sometimes even harmful. While the just earth pours (*fundit*, 460) from the soil an easy livelihood for the farmer, the city-dweller himself is "poured" from the home of his wealthy patron (*domus alta . . . vomit*, 462), a small part of a wave of humanity issuing from the same source:

> O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint,
> agricolas! quibus ipsa procul discordibus armis
> fundit humo facilem victum iustissima tellus;
> si non ingentem foribus domus alta superbis
> mane salutantum totis vomit aedibus undam,
> nec varios inhiant pulchra testudine postis
> inlusasque auro vestis Ephyreiaque aera,
> alba neque Assyrio fucatur lana veneno,
> nec casia liquidi corrumpitur usus olivi. (*G.* 2.458-66)

The city-dweller's life is marked by deception, particularly characterized by olive oil which has been flavored by cinnamon (466), and contrasted with the simple honesty of the farmer's mode of life (*nescia fallere vita*, 467). Among the riches admired by the city-dweller, gold itself has an exceedingly superficial function: it

is merely an embellishment for the clothes of the wealthy: *inlusasque auro vestis* (464).[16] *Inlusas auro* means that the gold is delicately interwoven; the context of the passage, however, suggests that those who prefer a mode of life which allows them to gape at such riches are themselves *inlusi auro.*

In their longing for this precious metal, people inflict great misery upon themselves or upon others:

> sollicitant alii remis freta caeca, ruuntque
> in ferrum, penetrant aulas et limina regum;
> hic petit excidiis urbem miserosque penatis,
> ut gemma bibat et Sarrano dormiat ostro;
> condit opes alius defossoque incubat auro. (*G.* 2.503-7)

Men sail on the sea, risk death in battle, or destroy other peoples and civilizations in order to obtain it. Others, who already possess it, are fearful of losing it. They become secretive and withdrawn from human interchange, like the miser, who buries his wealth deep in the earth and jealously watches over it.[17]

A positive context for gold is more often associated with divine and semidivine beings. The sun is golden (*Sol aureus,* 1.232; 4.51), as is the moon (*aurea Phoebe,* 1.431). The constellation Taurus and the river-deity, Eridanus, have gilded horns (1.217; 4.371). The sea-nymphs surrounding Cyrene wear gold (4.342), and Saturnus is called *aureus* (2.538). The bees, too, because of their divine origin and because they partake of the *divinae mentis* (4.220), are also semidivine creatures. Perhaps this is why they are spotted with gold: [18]

> alter erit maculis auro squalentibus ardens; (*G.* 4.91)

> elucent aliae et fulgore coruscant
> ardentes auro et paribus lita corpora guttis. (*G.* 4.98-9)

These marvelous little creatures also draw honey from flowers which are gold-colored (*amello . . . aureus ipse,* 4.271-4).

Honey itself, the *caelestia dona* (*G.* 4.1) which Vergil's bees diligently gather, is of course gold in color, but Vergil never calls it *aureum* or any other color. The only adjectives he uses for honey

[16] Cf. *tenui telas discreverat auro, A.* 4.264; 11.75.

[17] Cf. *A.* 3.56-7: *quid non mortalis cogis, auri sacra fames?* and Hor. *Sat.* 1.41-2: *quid iuvat immensum te pondus et auri; furtim defossa timidum deponere terra?*

[18] Cf. Diod. Sic. 5.70.5, who records the tradition that Zeus changed the bees' color as a memento to their care in his infancy, "making it like copper with the gleam of gold."

are those which refer to its physical qualities. He refers most often to its liquid nature; other adjectives refer to its sweetness, its purity, and to its ability to be stored.[19]

Gold is also the color of ripe wheat, but Vergil also avoids this adjective for wheat. Instead, he uses the adjective *flavus* to describe ripe wheat (*flava farra, G.* 1.73), wheat-fields (*flavis arvis, G.* 1.316), and Ceres, the deity who watches over wheat (*flava Ceres, G.* 1.96).

Does *flavus* signify to Vergil the color of gold? In the *Aeneid*, he uses *flavus* to describe the Tiber. This river naturally has a reddish-yellow color because of the silt it carries on its long journey to the sea. It is possible that, in the seventh book, Vergil envisions a golden cast on the water (*Tiberinus . . . multa flavus harena, A.* 7.31). The time is early morning. Dawn is casting her rays upon the waters, while a gentle wind blows. The reddish-yellow of the water, with the sun shining upon it and with the wind causing gentle ripples, could give the effect of shimmering gold. In the ninth book, he again calls the Tiber *flavus* (*suo cum gurgite flavo, A.* 9.817), but here there is no indication of an effect which would justify translating the adjective "golden."

In the first book of the *Aeneid*, however, Vergil specifically describes the color of gold as *flavus*:

> quale manus addunt ebori decus, aut ubi flavo
> argentum Pariusve lapis circumdatur auro. (*A.* 1.592-3)

Even though *aureus* and *flavus* can both signify the color of gold for Vergil, then, the primary meaning of *aureus* is "consisting of" or "made of" gold. This is probably why Vergil never describes honey or wheat as *aureum*. He avoids calling these two staples of human life and civilization by this term as carefully as he avoids, in the *Georgics*, calling human beings golden or any other metallic adjective. Wheat and honey share the color of gold, but their value to human life surpasses the value of this precious metal.

Gold, silver, and bronze appear in the second *Georgic* as products of the mines of Italy, when Vergil sings her praises:

> haec eadem argenti rivos aerisque metalla
> ostendit venis atque auro plurima fluxit. (*G.* 2.165-6)

This is a relatively neutral reference. These metals comprise one

[19] *roscida mella, E.* 4.30; *umida, A.* 4.486; *liquentia, A.* 1.432; *spumantia, G.* 4.141; *tenacia, G.* 4.57; *dulcia, G.* 4.101; *purissima, G.* 4.163; *servata, G.* 4.228; *constructa, G.* 4.213; *thymo fraglantia, G.* 4.169; *A.* 1.436.

category of Italy's bounty. They can, moreover, be produced in periods of adversity or good fortune.

Silver, which is used in the salve applied to the sores of the plague-stricken ram, can be useful for its healing quality (*G.* 3.449). This is a positive connotation, although it is worth noting that this use is necessary only in a negative situation: if there is no illness, there is no need for its healing qualities.

Bronze can be used for works of art, such as the fine bronze statues from Corinth which overawe the city-dweller (*Ephyreia aera*, *G.* 2.464). The tongue of the farmer's plough is also made of bronze:

> iunctos temo trahat aereus orbis. (*G.* 3.173)

Bronze is also associated with Mars, the god of war. The martial trumpet is made from this metal:

> namque morantis
> Martius ille aeris rauci canor increpat. (*G.* 4.71)

Of these three metals, gold is the most prominent, with both positive and negative connotations. It can signify beauty or divinity, which are generally positive connotations, or luxury, which can be either good or bad. Love of gold can distort personal values, as shown at the close of the second *Georgic*, where the hoarder and the misguided city-dweller are set in contrast to the happy farmer, who enjoys the more valuable life, a life once lived by golden Saturnus, and a life closely paralleled by the industrious, partially divine bees.

The metal which appears most frequently in the *Georgics* is, predictably, iron (*ferrum*). The metal is referred to six times each in the first and third *Georgics*, seven times in the second *Georgic*, and twice in the fourth *Georgic*. For Vergil, iron is initially a neutral metal which men can use as they wish. Iron is named at the beginning of the first *Georgic* in a neutral context, as the product which the Chalybes send to Italy:

> at Chalybes nudi ferrum <mittunt>. (*G.* 1.58)

Early in the fourth *Georgic*, it is again named in a neutral context. Here the bees are compared to Cyclopes turning an unspecified iron item (possibly a sword, but not necessarily) [20] in the forge:

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[20] Cyclopes traditionally forge *fulmina* for Jupiter (e.g., Ovid *M.* 3.305). In *Aen.* 8.418 ff., they forge weapons for Aeneas, but cf. *Aen.* 6.630, where they have forged *moenia* (*Cyclopum educta caminis / moenia*).

versantque tenaci forcipe ferrum. (*G.* 4.175)

Vergil also acknowledges the Hesiodic connotation of iron. In the first *Georgic,* he recognizes that the age of iron is current, having begun with the end of the golden age:

tum ferri rigor atque argutae lammina serrae. (*G.* 1.143)

Vergil has just indicated, however, that the Hesiodic golden age was harmful for human beings. Jupiter's decision to terminate that leisured existence was beneficial for them, on the other hand, because they were then forced to develop their wits and their skills. Those people, Vergil is suggesting, who comprise the current, so-called iron race, are not restricted by the determinism inherent in the metallic myth. They can make their own life-time into a good or a bad period through their own initiative. They can make use of this basically neutral metal, moreover, to achieve either extreme.

Ferrum is used most frequently in the *Georgics* to denote the tool used by the farmer:

ac prius ignotum ferro quam scindimus aequor. (*G.* 1.50)

prima Ceres ferro mortalis vertere terram
instituit. (*G.* 1.147)

⟨quidam⟩ pervigilat ferroque faces inspicat acuto. (*G.* 1.292)

nec scabie et salsa laedit robigine ferrum. (*G.* 2.220)

neu ferro laede retunso / semina. (*G.* 2.301)

tum bracchia tonde / (ante reformidant ferrum). (*G.* 2.369)

⟨nec tiliae aut buxum⟩ non formam accipiunt
ferroque cavantur acuto. (*G.* 2.450)

In some cases, *ferrum* specifically denotes a plough (1.50; 1.147); in other cases it is a pruning-hook (2.369). At other times it denotes a farmer's tool in general, without reference to its specific use. The farmer also uses iron muzzles for his goats to prevent them from drinking their mother's milk, which he intends to turn into cheese:

multi etiam excretos prohibent a matribus haedos,
primaque ferratis praefigunt ora capistris. (*G.* 3.399)

Ferrum is also used to denote a knife which the priest uses in sacrifices (*ferro mactaverat . . . sacerdos,* 3.489). A knife can

have medicinal use: in the description of the plague, it is the surgical instrument which the shepherd uses to cut out the victim's sore and thus prevent the infection from spreading:

> ...si quis ferro potuit rescindere summum
> ulceris os: alitur vitium vivitque tegendo ... (*G.* 3.453-4)

So, too, on a broader scale, an iron knife or sword is used to cut out the source of contagion from the herd, that is, to kill the animal which carries the disease:

> continuo culpam ferro compesce priusquam
> dira per incautum serpant contagia vulgus. (*G.* 3.468-9)

The Scythians are specifically associated with this metal. Their wheels are made of iron:

> undaque iam tergo ferratos sustinet orbis. (*G.* 3.361)

Scythians, moreover, do not turn their hunting into a social, sporting activity because the grim climate precludes any pleasure for them from outdoor activities. When they hunt for deer, they stand in close proximity to the animal, in military fashion, and cut them down with iron swords:

> comminus obtruncant ferro. (*G.* 3.374)

The Scythians lead as crude an existence as any race depicted by Vergil; they pass their lives in sunless, subterranean caves, like huge insects. The harshness of their lives is underscored by the iron "tool" with which they obtain their livelihood, namely, with the sword. Their sword is thus parallel to the tools of the farmer, and all are denoted by *ferrum*. Some Romans, unfortunately, have also resorted to the sword to gain their livelihood. They use the iron sword not merely to kill wild animals, but even kings and rulers of nations:

> sollicitant alii remis freta caeca, ruuntque
> in ferrum, penetrant aulas et limina regum. (*G.* 2.503-4)

In the last eighty or so lines of the second *Georgic*, Vergil repeatedly alternates between the happy life of the farmer and the wretched lot of the non-farmer, i.e., the city-dweller. While the city-dweller struggles through an iron age in the most negative sense of that term, the farmer experiences a golden age. He is able to enjoy the fruits of his labors, fruits which seem to grow spontaneously:

quos rami fructus, quos ipsa volentia rura
sponte tulere sua, carpsit, nec ferrea iura
insanumque forum aut populi tabularia vidit. (*G.* 2.500-502)

The city-dweller, meanwhile is confronted by the frantic pace of life in the city, earlier depicted as a sea of humanity issuing from the homes of wealthy patrons (*G.* 2.461 ff., above). Now Vergil focuses on what appears to be the Roman Forum itself, the *insanum forum* (503). *Ferrea iura* could, as Page suggests,[21] signify the hard character of the laws as well as the bronze tablets on which these "iron laws" were inscribed. It is perhaps even more like likely that the phrase refers to the law courts and their harsh judgements. The law courts were held in the basilicas on either side of the Forum. Their harsh judgements were stored in the Tabularium (*populi tabularia,* 502), which, ironically, was directly adjacent to the temple of the agricultural deity, Saturnus. Vergil juxtaposes the two extreme modes of life repeatedly as the second *Georgic* draws to a close (458-540), continually emphasizing the desirability of the life of the farmer, as opposed to that of the harassed city-dweller, whose life style so frequently drives him to deeds of violence and to war.

Finally, it should be noted that the simultaneous occurrence of the ages of iron and gold at the close of the second *Georgic* has a counterpart in the grim conclusion of the first *Georgic.* There the sun itself, which is elsewhere depicted as golden (*G.* 1.232; 4.51), is said to have responded to the civil wars by concealing its face with a cloud the color of iron-rust:

ille etiam exstincto miseratus Caesare Romam,
cum caput obscura nitidum ferrugine texit
impiaque aeternam timuerunt saecula noctem. (*G.* 1.466-8)

Yet even this color, iron-rust, appears in a positive context. In the fourth *Georgic,* the bees are said to distil honey from *ferrugineos hyacinthos* (4.183).

Vergil, then, rejects the connotations which Hesiod's metallic myth had assigned to these metals, and instead establishes morally neutral connotations for them. This is particularly true of iron and gold, the metals which represent the two extremes of Hesiod's metallic myth.

In the metallic tradition, iron has a clearly pejorative connotation,

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[21] T. E. Page, *P. Vergili Maronis*: *Bucolica et Georgica* (1898, repr. 1963) 286.

not only implying an inferior race which is liable to every kind of human failing, but also suggesting agricultural toil, the burden which this race bears. In the *Georgics*, a negative connotation attaches to iron only when it signifies the sword or has similar military significance. The *ferrugo* (1.467, above) which covers the face of the sun, for example, is an ominous response to the civil war at Rome. When used in an agricultural context, however, iron acquires a completely neutral connotation. Iron tools are useful implements which aid the farmer in achieving his goal.

Gold, on the other hand, although a highly-prized metal, is most appropriate for deities and semi-divine creatures, and for ornamentation. The value of gold for mortals is limited: too great a desire for gold can excessively distort human values and the quality of one's existence. The negative depiction of the hoarder (2.507) and of the gullible city-dweller is lightly anticipated by the earlier reference to the river Hermus (2.137), whose tributary, the Pactolus, was said to have acquired a golden color when Midas cleansed himself in its waters.[22]

Saturnus, on the other hand, has set an example for the farmer of a truly "golden" existence. He did this by practicing farming on earth. The honey-bees, who are spotted with gold, and who produce a precious, gold-colored liquid, are also miniature farmers. As will be seen, Vergil's reconciliation of Hesiod's metallic golden age and of his own agricultural concept of a golden age is embodied in his depictions both of Saturnus and of the honey-bees. The gold associated with them symbolizes the metallic tradition, yet they are important paradigms for the farmers who will restore and renew Vergil's agricultural golden age.

Vergil retains elements of the metallic myth because of its connotation of the mythical state of felicity which mortals once enjoyed on earth. At the same time, however, his intention may have been to dismiss the determinism inherent in Hesiod's metallic myth. His attitude in the *Georgics* seems to be that these metals are morally neutral, and therefore can be used for good or bad purposes. For human beings, and especially for Romans, a choice remains whether to follow a course of deterioration or to recreate for themselves and for their descendants a state of felicity worthy of the appellation, "a new golden age."

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[22] *A*. 10.142: *Pactolusque inrigat auro*; Ovid, *M*. 11.85-145.

CHAPTER FIVE

SATURNUS AND THE AGRICULTURAL GOLDEN AGE

At the heart of the metallic myth of the golden age is an attitude which places a high value upon freedom from toil and, conversely, which regards toil, particularly agricultural toil, as an inevitable burden for the human race. Another attitude, however, was also current in Greece and Rome, which recognized agriculture as the basis of civilized society. Vergil reconciles and merges these two attitudes in the *Georgics* when he conceives of the golden age as agricultural. His conception is manifested in several ways. The reader comes upon it, for example, at the close of the second *Georgic*, where one glimpses the farmer enjoying an idyllic agricultural festival. Again, in the fourth *Georgic*, the reader suddenly comes upon the aged Corycian farmer, who has created a miniature paradise for himself on a once-barren strip of land (*G.* 4.125-46). The strongest evidence, however, that Vergil intended these idyllic moments to be associated with some kind of golden age is in his use of elements associated with that felicitous time.

One of these elements is Saturnus,[1] the Latin equivalent of Hesiod's Cronus, who ruled on Olympus at the time of Hesiod's golden race. Another element associated with the metallic golden age is honey. Hesiod does not mention the availability of honey in the golden age, but Vergil envisions it there, oozing out of oak trees (*Ec.* 4.30) or dripping from leaves (*G.* 1.131). In the metallic golden age, there were no honey-bees, nor was there any need for them. A major function of Vergil's bees is to avail mortals of this blessing which they enjoyed so abundantly during the metallic golden age. Bees alone can still gather honey from leaves. Saturnus and the honey-bees not only represent the metallic golden age, however; they are also farmers. Vergil states unambiguously that Saturnus once lived the life of a farmer (*G.* 2.536-8). The honey-bees, moreover, are depicted in the fourth *Georgic* reaping a harvest of honey. An examination of Saturnus and of Vergil's honey-bees will serve to illustrate the manner in which Vergil reconciles and merges the two conflicting attitudes toward agriculture.

[1] Cf. P. A. Johnston, "Vergil's Conception of Saturnus," *CSCA* 10 (1977) 57-70.

Saturnus was apparently an archaic Roman deity of agriculture before he was merged with the Greek Cronus. Very little is known about his origins, and the etymology of his name is a matter of dispute. The Romans believed, however, that he was a god of sowing, and that his name was derived from *sero, satus*.[2] The Saturnalia was annually celebrated for him on December seventeenth at the close of winter-sowing.[3] He was a very ancient Roman deity: the oldest temple at Rome, second only to the Capitoline, is the temple of Saturnus.[4] In 43 B.C., at Augustus' direction, this temple was restored. Finally, it should be noted that the public treasury was housed in this temple.[5]

Varro records that those who till the soil were believed not only to live pious and useful lives, but also that these farmers were believed to be the sole descendants of Saturnus:

> Nec sine causa ⟨Romani rustici⟩ terram eandem appellabant matrem et Cererem, et qui eam colerent, piam et utilem agere vitam credebant atque eos solos reliquos esse ex stirpe Saturni regis. Cui consentaneum est, quod initia vocantur potissimum ea quae Cereri fiunt sacra. (*R.R.* 3.1.5)

Because of his association with Cronus in the Greek tradition, and with agriculture in the Roman tradition, Saturnus was a natural vehicle in whom Vergil could merge agriculture and the metallic golden age.

Hesiod's golden race, it will be recalled, lived like gods, far from grief and toil, in the time when Cronus was ruling in heaven:

> Χρύσεον μὲν . . . γένος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων . . .
> οἳ μὲν ἐπὶ Κρόνου ἦσαν, ὅτ' οὐρανῷ ἐμβασίλευεν. (*Erga* 109-11)

In Vergil's Fourth *Eclogue*, where he predicts the return of the golden age, and in Silenus' cosmology in the Sixth *Eclogue*, *Saturnia regna* appear to signify Hesiod's golden age:

> iam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna
> . . . surget gens aurea mundo,

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[2] Festus 186b24; 325a15; Varro *L.L.* 5.64; Macrob. 1.10.20. For his cult, cf. Festus 322b24 ff; Varro *L.L.* 5.42; Dion. Hal. *Ant.* 1.34.1; Servius Dan. *Aen.* 8.328; Wissowa, *Rel. und Kultus*,[2] 204 ff. For the etymology *saturare*, see W. S. Anderson, "Juno and Saturn in the *Aeneid*," *SPh* 55 (1958) 519-32.

[3] Festus 325M.432, 9L.

[4] *RE*: 2A:1:218-223, *s.v.* "Saturnus."

[5] Munatius Plancus actually carried out the restoration (Suet., *Aug.* 29.5). Suetonius (*Claud.* 24.2) records that the treasury was housed there.

...tuus iam regnat Apollo. (*Ec.* 4.6-10)

hinc lapides Pyrrhae iactos, Saturnia regna. (*Ec.* 4.41)

In the *Georgics*, however, another conception of Saturnus begins to emerge. Saturnus and his reign are placed on earth: Italy is called the Saturnian land, and Saturnus is said to have lived on earth, where he practiced farming: [6]

Salve magna parens frugum, Saturnia tellus,
magna virum. (*G.* 2.173-4)

rusticus ... curvo Saturni dente relictam
persequitur vitem attondens fingitque putando. (*G.* 2.406-7)

ante etiam sceptrum Dictaei regis et ante
impia quam caesis gens est epulata iuvencis
aureus hanc vitam in terris Saturnus agebat. (*G.* 2.536-8)

In the *Aeneid*, the reign of Saturnus signifies not the period when Saturnus was supreme ruler of heaven, but rather the subsequent period, after he had been overthrown by Jupiter and had come to Italy in exile:

primus ab aetherio venit Saturnus Olympo
arma Iovis fugiens et regnis exsul ademptis
is genus indocile ac dispersum montibus altis
composuit legesque dedit, Latiumque vocari
maluit, his quoniam latuisset tutus in oris.
aurea quae perhibent illo sub rege fuere
saecula. (*A.* 6.319-25)

Saturnia regna also signifies the descendants of the golden age which he once established in Italy:

[Diomedes is speaking]:
"O fortunatae gentes, Saturnia regna,
antiqui Ausonii, quae vos fortuna quietos
sollicitat suadetque ignota lacessere bella?" (*A.* 11.252-3)

In this passage, Diomedes is reprimanding the Latin delegates who have come to seek his aid. The Ausonian or Latin people, an agricultural people, are *fortunati*. Like Varro's farmers (*R.R.* 3.1.5, above), they live pious and useful lives because they till the soil.

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[6] *Saturnia tellus* is undoubtedly an echo of Ennius' *Saturnia terra* (*Ann.* 25 V [3]), although we do not know the context of this fragment. cf. Anderson (note 2, above), and M. Wigodsky, *Vergil and Early Latin Poetry* (Hermes Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie Einzelschrift XXIV, 1972) 67-8, and references cited in these works.

In the *Georgics*, too, Vergil expresses a similar sentiment about those who till the soil:

> O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint,
> agricolas! quibus ipsa procul discordibus armis
> fundit humo facilem victum iustissima tellus;
> ...extrema per illos
> Iustitia excedens terris vestigia fecit. (*G.* 2.458-74)

The tradition surrounding Saturnus' presence in Italy conflicts with Hesiod's genealogical account of the gods. In Hesiod's account, Cronus has come to power by overthrowing his father, Ouranos. In order to avoid being subsequently overthrown by his own children, he systematically swallows each of them as they are born (*Theog.* 453 ff.). His wife Rhea therefore conspires with Gaia and Ouranos to conceal the infant Zeus on the island of Crete and to trick Cronus into consuming a rock in place of the infant. When Zeus is grown, he overthrows his father and banishes him to the region below Tartarus:

> Τιτῆνές θ' ὑποταρτάριοι, Κρόνον ἀμφὶς ἐόντες. (*Theog.* 851) [7]

Another account of this succession conflict, wherein Cronus goes to Italy after he is overthrown instead of to Tartarus, can be found in the extant fragments of Ennius' translation of Euhemerus' *Sacred History*.[8] Euhemerus lived at Alexandria, where, about the time of Alexander's conquest, he wrote an account of a journey which he claimed he had made to a mythical island near Arabia named Panchaia. At Panchaia, he wrote, he observed a golden pillar on which the deeds of the gods were recorded. From this monument he learned that the gods were formerly kings or heroes who were subsequently worshipped because of their good deeds to mankind. Such historicization of myth gained increasing momentum during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. It was sufficiently popular in the Republican period to inspire Ennius' translation of Euhemerus, which was one of the earlier translations of a Greek text into Latin.

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[7] Cf. *Iliad*, 14.274.

[8] Ennius' translation of Euhemerus can be found in Vahlen's (3rd) edition of Ennius, or in E. H. Warmington, *Remains of Old Latin*, I, Loeb ed. (1935). For separate editions of Euhemerus, see G. Vallauri, *Euemero di Messene* (1956) (with introduction and commentary); H. van der Meer, *Euhemerus von Messene* (1949).

In Euhemerus' account, the twins Jupiter and Juno were born to Ops, the wife and sister of Saturnus. Titan, the brother of Saturnus, in order that the throne would pass to his own sons, had persuaded Saturnus not to allow "any free-born child of the male sex born to him" to survive.[9] Jupiter was therefore hidden away by his mother and brought up by his aunt, Vesta. When Jupiter was grown, he came with a great band of Cretans and freed Saturnus, who by then had been seized and imprisoned by Titan, and then returned to Crete.

After Jupiter's noble deed on behalf of his father, Saturnus received a warning from an oracle that his son might replace him on the throne. In order to prevent his son's succession to the throne, Saturnus planned to ambush and kill him, but Jupiter, discovering the plot beforehand, laid claim to Saturnus' throne and drove his father into exile in Italy (*ap.* Lact. 1.14.1).

These are the circumstances under which Saturnus comes to Italy. In this account, Saturnus is both physically and morally weak. His physical weakness is revealed by his initial subservience and subsequent displacement by his brother, Titan, as well as by his final displacement by Jupiter. Hesiod's Cronus, by contrast, was a powerful tyrant, who cast the Titans into Tartarus. Both Saturnus and Cronus deal cruelly with their infant children, but only Saturnus appears to be both cowardly and morally culpable. His cowardice is reflected in the way he allows himself to be bullied into destroying his own children. His later decision to ambush and kill Jupiter, the son who has saved him and restored him to the throne, further reveals his cowardly nature and moral shortcomings. The rule of Jupiter is marked by his concern with improving the life of mankind. Jupiter encourages new discoveries (*ap.* Lact. 1.11.32), suppresses barbaric practices such as cannibalism (in which Saturnus habitually engaged) (*ap.* Lact. 1.13.2), and establishes law and customs (*ap.* Lact. 1.11.44).[10]

Diodorus Siculus, who writes his *Library of History* between 56 and 36 B.C., clearly follows Euhemerus' account of Cronus and the succession of Zeus in his sixth book.[11] Diodorus also gives two

[9] *Itaque pactus est cum Saturno uti si quid liberum virile secus ei natum esset, ne quid educaret.* (*ap.* Lact. 1.14.1).

[10] This account of Jupiter's beneficence should be compared with accounts of the deeds of the Egyptian Osiris, who was credited, in addition, with the discovery of the vine and with conveying the art of cultivating grain to mortals; cf. Tib. 1.7.29 ff.; Diod. Sic. 1.11 ff., and Plut. *De Is. et Os.*, 12-20.

versions of Zeus' succession in his fifth book. The first of these corresponds to Ennius' translation, with the added detail that the infant Zeus was nourished, while in hiding, by bees, whom he later rewarded by giving them their golden color. This, says Diodorus, is the myth related by the Cretans (5.70).[12]

In the other version, Diodorus reports that Zeus succeeded to the throne peacefully, after the death of Cronus (5.70). In this version, Cronus had become king because he was the eldest of the Titans (5.66.4). His great benefaction was that he caused his subjects to change from an uncivilized to a civilized way of life, and then travelled over the world introducing justice and "sincerity of soul" (τὴν ἁπλότητα τῆς ψυχῆς). "This," concludes Diodorus, "is why the tradition has come down to later generations that the men of Cronus' time were good-hearted, altogether guileless, and blessed with felicity" (5.66.4). In these and other accounts, Diodorus regularly credits the individual gods with some important invention or benefaction for the life of mankind.[13]

Euhemerus' treatment of the tale of Cronus and the succession of Zeus is softened by Diodorus, so that the negative aspects of Cronus are either minimized or rejected, and Cronus' beneficial deeds for mortals are emphasized. The notion that the gods are former mortals who have been elevated to a divine state was not original with Euhemerus. Isocrates urges Philip to make Hercules his example in order that Philip, too, may join the company of the gods, and Aristotle discusses the belief that men become gods through an excess of virtue.[14] This concept appears to be finding increasing acceptance at Rome in the late Republic and Augustan age. It appears in Latin literature as early as Ennius' translation of Euhemerus, as well as in his other works. Ennius suggests, for example, that his own patron, Scipio Africanus, will be deified,

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[11] Diodorus' sixth book exists only in fragments. Eusebius, *Preparatio Evangelica*, 2.2.59B-61A, introduces Diodorus' account of the origin of those gods who were once mortals with the explanation that Diodorus was drawing from the works of Euhemerus of Messene.

[12] Cf. Vergil, *G.* 4.149-52: *naturas apibus quas Iuppiter ipse / addidit expediam, pro qua mercede . . . Dictaeo caeli regem pavere sub antro.*

[13] E.g., 5.67, 71.

[14] Isoc., *Phil.* 132; 137; 145; *Ep.* 3.5 Arist., *E.N.* 1145a23: ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γίνονται θεοὶ δι' ἀρετῆς ὑπερβολήν . . . cf. *Aen.* 6.128-30: *pauci, quos aequus amavit / Iuppiter aut ardens evexit ad aethera virtus / dis geniti potuere . . .*; cf. also *E.N.* 1145a27; *Pol.* 3.8.1 (1284a3).

and Cicero and Horace mention Scipio's deification as a fact.[15] Lactantius has preserved Ennius' epigram wherein Scipio Africanus predicts his own deification:

> Apud Ennium sic loquitur Africanus:
> Si fas endo plagas Caelestum ascendere cuiquam est,
> mi soli caeli maxima porta patet. (*Epig.* 23-4 V [3])

In the *Annales*, Ennius indicates that Romulus was deified:

> Romulus in caelo cum dis genitalibus aevom
> degit. (*Ann.* 115)

Otto Skutsch has shown that Cicero emended this line, replacing *genitalibus aevom/degit* with *agit aevom,* in order to show that ordinary men and women, not just divinely engendered mortals like Romulus, can be raised to heaven through their virtue and achievements.[16]

Ennius, according to Cicero, was not only a translator, but a follower *praeter ceteros* of Euhemerus (*N.D.* 1.119). This phrase is ambiguous. It could mean that Ennius was a more devoted follower of Euhemerus than were his contemporaries, but it could also mean that Ennius relied more on the history of Euhemerus than he did on variant sources. The examples of Scipio Africanus and of Romulus suggest that Euhemerus' theory of the origin of the gods had, indeed, left its mark upon Ennius, although he clearly did entertain other schools of religious and philosophic thought.

The deification of Julius Caesar shows how strongly the belief that mortals can become gods had taken hold at Rome by Vergil's time, and the impending apotheosis of Augustus is frequently alluded to by both Horace and Vergil. The depiction of Saturnus as a king on earth (*illo sub rege, A.* 8.324) is another aspect of this notion, for here, one who traditionally mingles only with Olympian deities is instead shown tilling the soil and benefiting the mortal race. Even if he does not actually become mortal, he does provide a pattern to be followed by those mortals who wish to become gods.

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[15] Cic. *Rep.* frg. inc. 6 Zgl., ap. Lact.: "*est vero, inquit* <*Cicero*>, *Africane*: *nam et Herculi eadem ista porta patuit;*" cf. Hor. *Odes* 4.8.14 (although C. Becker, *Herm.* 87 (1959), 212 ff. argues that these lines are spurious); cf. also S. Weinstock, *Divus Julius* (Oxford, 1971) 287 ff.

[16] *Romulus in caelo cum dis agit aevom* (*Tusc. Disp.* 1.28). O. Skutsch, *Studia Enniana* (1968) 109-112 (= *CQ* 58 (1964) 85 ff.); cf. K. Latte, *Römische Religionsgeschichte* (1960), 165-6. Livy, in his account of Romulus' adoption of the ritual of the *ara maxima,* indicates that it was a common belief that Romulus' *virtus* was the basis for his deification: *iam tum immortalitatis virtute partae ad quam eum sua fata ducebant fautor* (1.7).

In the second *Georgic*, Vergil addresses his homeland as *Saturnia tellus* (*G.* 2.173), as he sings the praises of Italy. He later mentions the curved pruning hook of Saturnus (*curvo Saturni dente, G.* 2.406), thus anticipating his depiction of Saturnus, at the close of this book, as a farmer (*G.* 2.538).

When Vergil addresses Italy as *Saturnia tellus*, he appears to mean that this is the land where a golden age has occurred in the past and has the potential of recurring, that is, as an agricultural golden age. The notion that Saturnus would rule over an agricultural golden age reflects his heritage at Rome, where he seems to have been an agricultural deity before he was merged with Hesiod's Cronus. The phrase *Saturnia tellus*, which Vergil adapts from Ennius' *Saturnia terra* (*Ann.* 25 V [3]), also reflects Euhemerus' account of Saturnus' flight to Italy, as opposed to Hesiod's account, wherein Cronus was cast into the region below Tartarus.[17]

Vergil's conception of Saturnus in the *Georgics* is still a curious blend of several accounts, particularly those of Hesiod and Euhemerus. In the first *Georgic* (1.121 ff.), Vergil refers to Hesiod's version of Jupiter's succession, and to Hesiod's chronology, which places a blissful golden age under the reign of Cronus. Here he asserts that the end of the golden age was beneficial for man, a view which conflicts with the Hesiodic myth, but agrees with Euhemerus' account, for Euhemerus reports that the quality of human life was greatly improved under the rule of Jupiter:

> Item si quis quid novi invenerat quod ad vitam humanam utile esset, eo veniebant atque Iovi ostendebant. (*ap.* Lact. 1.11.32)
>
> Deinde Iuppiter . . . reliquit hominibus leges mores frumentaque paravit multaque alia bona fecit. . . . (*ap.* Lact. 1.11.44)

At the close of the second *Georgic*, however, the life of the Roman farmer is compared to the life once lived on earth by "golden" Saturnus. Here Saturnus is credited with having set a pattern for a "civilized," that is, agricultural, existence for mortals. It will be recalled that Diodorus had two accounts in his fifth book of Jupiter's

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[17] Euhemerus' version, wherein Cronus goes to Italy instead of to the lowest part of the underworld, may perhaps be explained by what F. Altheim, *A History of Roman Religion* (trans. by H. Mattingly, 1938), 34, identified as a Greek attitude, wherein Italy was viewed as Hesperia, the land of evening and the west, the land where the entrance to the underworld was located. It is unlikely that Vergil intends this connotation here, however, for he uses the phrase to conclude his praise of Italy.

succession. In one account, one of Saturnus' great benefactions to mortals was that he caused his subjects to change from an uncivilized to a civilized way of life, and then traveled over the world introducing, among other things, justice (5.66.4). At the close of the second *Georgic*, Vergil indicates that the men of Saturnus' time still enjoyed the presence of Iustitia or Dikê, who left earth at the time of the bronze race:

> ante etiam sceptrum Dictaei regis et ante
> impia quam caesis gens est epulata iuvencis
> aureus hanc vitam in terris Saturnus agebat. (*G.* 2.536-8)

These lines, as Servius recognized,[18] refer to Aratus' account (*Phaen.* 131 ff.) of the race of bronze, who outraged Dikê by slaughtering and consuming the ploughing-ox which had been her helpmate in providing sustenance for the golden race. This act, moreover, signalled the end of vegetarianism among mortals. Euhemerus' Saturnus used to dine on mortal flesh until Jupiter put an end to such practices:

> Saturnum et Opem ceterosque tunc homines humanam carnem solitos esitare; verum primum Iovem leges hominibus moresque condentem edicto prohibuisse ne liceret eo cibo vesci.
> (*ap.* Lact. 1.13.2)

Vergil's Saturnus, by contrast, has become not only a benefactor of the human race, but also a vegetarian.

In Hesiod's account, and also in Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound*, the benefactor of mankind is not Cronus or Zeus but Prometheus. By giving man the use of fire, Prometheus leads mankind to the discovery of the arts. He does this, moreover, in Aeschylus' account, in opposition to Zeus, who would have destroyed the race of men.[19] In the first *Georgic*, however, as in Euhemerus, Jupiter rather than Prometheus is the great benefactor of mankind. Vergil emphasizes the invention and discovery that grow from Jupiter's termination of a passive golden age. Aeschylus' Prometheus depicts mankind as a very passive species, totally dependent upon him for the initial development of their skills: "I gave them the use of their wits. . . . I showed them the risings of the stars. . . . I first yoked beasts"

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[18] IMPIA QUAM CAESIS GENS EST E.I. *Arati est hoc, qui dicit, quod maiores bovem comesse nefas putabant.* (Servius *ad G.* 2.537).

[19] Hesiod *Erga* 50-1; *Theog.* 565-6; Aesch. *P.V.* 235 ff. Zeus' intention to destroy mankind does not appear in Hesiod's accounts of Prometheus.

(*P.V.* 442 ff.). Euhemerus' Jupiter, on the other hand, coordinates and distributes discoveries made by other mortals, but he is not responsible for the actual discovery of the individual skills.

In the first *Georgic,* Jupiter's role in the termination of the golden age is similar to the roles of Euhemerus' Jupiter and of Aeschylus' Prometheus in the respective roles as benefactors of mankind. By terminating the golden age, Jupiter forces mankind out of a grossly passive existence:

> pater ipse . . . primus per artem
> movit agros curis acuens mortalia corda
> nec torpere gravi passus sua regna veterno. (*G.* 1.121-4)

Like Prometheus, Jupiter benefits human beings by freeing them from a dull-witted, torpid existence. The passivity which Prometheus decries in men, however, is diminished in the first *Georgic.* Vergil, like Euhemerus, assumes that men themselves took the initiative when faced with harsh necessity. Here, Jupiter inflicts problems upon mortals so that they will be impelled to discover the means to improve their lives: poison is added to snakes, wolves are made predators, seas made stormy, and honey, wine, grain, and fire are concealed so that men will be motivated to develop the latent powers which they already possess:

> ut varias usus meditando extunderet artis,
> . . .ut silicis venis abstrusum excuderet ignem,
> . . .tum variae venere artes. (*G.* 1.133-45)

Vergil's Jupiter, however, is also the traditional, all-powerful ruler of heaven. He is the great sky-god, the controller of clouds and rain, of thunder and lightning.[20] His position as ruler of gods and men is more emphatic in the *Aeneid* than in the *Georgics,* but it can still be detected in the earlier work. His role in the succession-conflict of the *Aeneid,* on the other hand, is relatively neutral, as compared with Juno's passionate involvement. Juno wages her conflict, ultimately, against fate. The villainous aspect of Euhemerus' Saturnus, which fades away in Evander's account of Saturnus' arrival and rule in Italy, thus reappears in the person of his daughter, Saturnian Juno, who is just as reluctant to yield to a new generation of rulers as her father was.

References to Saturnus in the *Georgics* can, for the most part,

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[20] *Ec.* 6.60; *G.* 1.352; 2.325, 419.

be explained without reference to Euhemerus' account. Vergil could, conceivably, have adapted *Saturnia tellus* from Ennius' *Saturnia terra* (*Ann.* 25 V[3]) without ever knowing of Ennius' translation of Euhemerus. The association of Saturnus with both the golden age and agriculture could be explained by the traditions received from Hesiod and Aratus, on the one hand, and from early Roman religion, wherein Saturnus was a Roman god of agriculture. The account in the *Aeneid* of Saturnus' arrival in Italy, however, provides much stronger evidence that Vergil's conception of Saturnus is influenced by Ennius' translation of Euhemerus.

In the Eighth Book of the *Aeneid*, an account of Saturnus' arrival in Latium and his achievement there is given to Aeneas by Evander. Evander reports that Saturnus came to Italy in exile, fleeing the arms of Jupiter; here he found safety and subsequently established a golden age:

> primus ab aetherio venit Saturnus Olympo
> arma Iovis fugiens et regnis exsul ademptis
> is genus indocile ac dispersum montibus altis
> composuit legesque dedit, Latiumque vocari
> maluit, his quoniam latuisset tutus in oris.
> aurea quae perhibent illo sub rege fuere
> saecula. (*A.* 8.319-25)

The arms of Jupiter (*arma Iovis*, 320) also appear in Ennius' translation of Euhemerus, as the armed bands which Jupiter sent to pursue Saturnus:

> Iovem cognitis insidiis regnum sibi denuo vindicasse ac fugasse Saturnum, qui cum iactatus esset per omnes terras persequentibus armatis, quos ad eum conprehendendum vel necandum Iuppiter miserat, vix in Italia locum in quo lateret invenit. (*ap.* Lact. 1.14.1)

Vergil's Saturnus is fleeing (*fugiens*);[21] Euhemerus' Saturnus has been put to flight by Jupiter (*Iovem . . . fugasse . . . Saturnum*). In Euhemerus' account, the tale is told from Jupiter's point of view, as indicated by the causative form of the verb, *fugasse*: Jupiter learned of the plot, claimed the throne for himself, and put Saturnus

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[21] Cf. *G.* 3.93-4: *pernix Saturnus . . . fugiens.* The reference here is to Saturnus' amorous encounter with Phillyra. The offspring of that encounter, Chiron, appears at the end of the third *Georgic* (*Phillyrides Chiron, G.* 3.550). Cf. Hes. *Theog.* 1002; Pind. *Pyth.* 3.1 ff.; Ap. Rhod. 2.1231 ff., and G. Binder, *Aeneas und Augustus* (1971) 84 ff.

to flight. In Evander's account, Saturnus' point of view is reflected in the narrative: Saturnus came to Italy fleeing (*fugiens*) Jupiter's armed bands, after his kingdom had been snatched away (*regnis ademptis*).

Euhemerus' account of Saturnus, moreover, provides a basis for Vergil's depiction of Saturnus in the *Aeneid* not as a god, but as a former king of Latium. To some extent, Saturnus' situation anticipates that of Aeneas, who also comes in flight to Italy, where he will establish a rule of law. Ennius' use of *latere* in his translation explains the etymology which Vergil accepts for Latium. Saturnus, only with great difficulty, found a place in Italy where he could hide (*vix in Italia locum in quo lateret invenit*). Vergil repeats the verb, *latere*, to report that Saturnus went into hiding in Italy, and thus explains the etymology of Latium, *his quoniam latuisset in oris* (323).[22]

Euhemerus' Saturnus is much more in evidence in the *Aeneid* than is Hesiod's Cronus. One cannot imagine Hesiod's Cronus fearfully fleeing the arms of his son or going into hiding. Euhemerus' Saturnus, by contrast, plans to lie hidden in ambush and thus attack his son; when his plans backfire, he goes into hiding in Italy. The version in the *Aeneid* is more favorable to Saturnus, softened perhaps by the influence of Diodorus or of Diodorus' unknown sources, and also, perhaps, by being told from the point of view of Saturnus, whose situation when he arrives in Italy bears striking similarities to that of Aeneas.

Another succession-conflict involving Saturnus' descendants occurs in the *Aeneid*; here the question of succession to power lies in the outcome of the battle which Saturnian Juno wages against fate. Jupiter, who is also a child of Saturnus, shows no interest in sustaining the race Diomedes addresses as *Saturnia regna* (*A.* 11.252), but is aligned instead with fate. This alignment is consistent with both Hesiod's and Euhemerus' accounts of Jupiter's succession, for in both accounts, the interests of Saturnus are in opposition to both Jupiter and fate. In Euhemerus' account, moreover, after

[22] Varro has two derivations for Latium, one from Latinus (*L.L.* 5.32) and another, according to Servius *ad A.* 8.322, based on Italy's location: *quod latet Italia inter praecipitia Alpium et Apennini.* P. T. Eden, *Virgil: Aeneid VIII* (1975) 108, assigns the association of Latium with *latere* to folk-etymology, examples of which abound in Varro's *De Lingua Latina.* Binder (85 n. 42) suggests that Vergil was the first to associate Latium with Saturnus.

Saturnus attempts to thwart the oracle which warns of Jupiter's succession and thereby compels Jupiter to follow the inevitable course, Jupiter subsequently proves to be a most beneficent ruler. As the new ruler, he brings to an end such barbaric practices as cannibalism, and searches out inventions and discoveries to improve the life of mankind.

In the case of Saturnus and Jupiter, the succession is hereditary, whereas the succession in Italy represents a continual merging of peoples, resulting in the succession of wholly new peoples. The quality of life in Italy is continually improved by the deeds of foreigners, some of whom are eventually deified for their benefactions. Saturnus is the first foreigner to bring a new level of civilization to this land; Hercules, Evander, and finally Aeneas are also foreigners who come to Italy and benefit this land and its people. When Juno, the devoted daughter of Saturnus, finally concedes defeat (*A.* 12.807 ff.), she is granted her request that the Latins incorporate their victors into their society and that the name, Latium, be preserved in commemoration of the sanctuary which this land once provided to her father.

Concealment is as characteristic of Vergil's Juno as it was of her father. When the verb *latere* appears in the *Aeneid*, it almost always has a pejorative sense. The main exceptions are in the sixth book, where the golden bough is said to be concealed (*A.* 6.136; 406) and, possibly, in the simile in the tenth book wherein the traveller safely takes shelter from a thunderstorm (*tuta latet arce, A.* 10.805). Elsewhere, the verb tends to suggest treachery. The rocks which wreck the Trojan ships in the first book, for example, are *latentia* (*A.* 1.108). Again, Laocoon warns the Trojans against the Trojan horse:

> aliquis latet error; equo ne credite, Teucri. (*A.* 2.48)

This verb is also used to describe the single eye of Polyphemus:

> lumen . . . ingens quod torva solum sub fronte
> latebat. (*A.* 3.635-6)

The verb is used twice in the context of Juno's attempts to thwart Aeneas' destiny. When she stirs up the great storm which sends Aeneas and his men off their course to Carthage, her brother, Neptune, becomes aware of the storm and brings it to a halt:

> nec latuere doli fratrem Iunonis et irae. (*A.* 1.130)

Nec latuere indicates that Juno would have preferred to conceal her involvement, but did not succeed. In the tenth book, Jupiter allows Juno to delay Turnus' fates for the moment, but warns her:

> sin altior istis
> sub precibus venia ulla latet totumque moveri
> mutarive putas bellum, spes pascis inanis. (*A.* 10.625-7)

Jupiter is well aware of Juno's tendency to conceal ulterior motives and plans in her words and deeds.

In opposing Aeneas and his destiny, Juno fights a hopeless battle, which she cannot win with any amount of cleverness or treachery. She behaves in this situation very much as her father did, for he planned to ambush and kill Jupiter only after an oracle had warned him of the danger that his son would succeed him on the throne, and was undone by the very precaution which he took:

> Post haec deinde Saturno sortem datam ut caveret ne filius eum regno expelleret, illum elevandae sortis atque effugiendi periculi gratia insidiatum Iovi ut eum necaret. (*ap.* Lact. 1.14.1)

This appears to be one more aspect of the epithet *Saturnia*, which Vergil uses so often to refer to Juno, especially in the last six books of the *Aeneid*.[23] She shares with her father a tendency to become excessively angry. When she finally concedes defeat, Jupiter wryly observes the similarities between Juno and her father:

> olli subridens hominum rerumque repertor:
> 'es germana Iovis Saturnique altera proles,
> irarum tantos volvis sub pectore fluctus.' (*A.* 12.829-31)

Like her father, however, she too is finally reconciled. Just as her father found a haven in Latium, became reconciled to his fate, and, in a most constructive compromise, brought about a golden age in Italy, so Juno, too, in defeat accepts a compromise which will strengthen the quality of life in Italy. Just as her father's memory will be preserved by the preservation of the name Latium, so Juno will be held in highest honor by the new Latin race which will have absorbed the Trojan immigrants:

> 'nec gens ulla tuos aeque celebrabit honores.' (*A.* 12.840)

By the time Vergil writes the *Aeneid*, his conception of Saturnus has evolved in such a way that Saturnus is a former king instead of

[23] Cf. W. S. Anderson, *SPh* 55 (1958) 519-32.

an aloof god. *Saturnia regna* no longer refers to the golden race which existed when Saturnus resided in heaven: now it signifies his residence in Italy, the agricultural golden age which he brought about there, and the farmers descended from him. The evolution of Vergil's conception of Saturnus and what his name implies is reflected in the works of Vergil's contemporary, Tibullus.

Saturnus appears twice in Tibullus' works, once in his first book of poems (1.3; dated 31 B.C.), and once in his second book (2.5; dated shortly before his death in 19 B.C.). The earlier poem contains a picture of the golden age which is strongly reminiscent of Vergil's depiction of the golden age in the Fourth *Eclogue.* As in the Fourth *Eclogue,* Tibullus' golden age is pastoral, and, as in Hesiod's account, the spontaneity of nature renders human toil unnecessary. Like Vergil's *Saturnia regna* in the Fourth *Eclogue,* Tibullus' golden age, over which Saturnus once ruled (*quam beate Saturno vivebant rege,* etc., 1.3.35 ff.), reflects the metallic tradition of Hesiod. In this account, Saturnus appears in a very favorable light, as one whose rule was good for mortals, while Jupiter is castigated as having brought upon mankind endless wars and bloodshed:

> nunc Iove sub domino caedes et vulnera semper,
> nunc mare, nunc leti mille repente viae. (1.3.49-50)

In his second book, by contrast, Tibullus seems to reverse his attitude toward Saturnus. The fifth poem of this book celebrates the installation of Messalinus as one of the *quindecemviri sacris faciundis.* These fifteen men had custody of the Sibylline books. The poem is addressed to Apollo, who was the source of inspiration for the Sibyls and the god of prophecy. In the following passage, Tibullus seems to exult with Apollo, whom he addresses, as the god exults in the victory of Jupiter over Saturnus:

> . . .nunc indue vestem
> sepositam, longas nunc bene pecte comas,
> qualem te memorant Saturno rege fugato
> victori laudes concinuisse Iovi. (2.5.7-10)

Kirby Flower Smith interpreted these lines as an allusion to the battle of the Titans against Jupiter,[24] but the battle between Jupiter and the Titans occurred *after* Jupiter was already on the

[24] *The Elegies of Albius Tibullus* (1913) 447, ad 2.5.9-10.

throne (cf. Hesiod, *Theog.*, 644 ff.). If this passage referred to Jupiter's victory over the Titans, there would be no reason to mention Saturnus, who did not participate in that contest. The designation of Saturnus as a king (*rege*) may be an echo of Ennius' translation. The phrase *Saturno fugato,* however, appears to be a direct echo of Ennius' *fugasse Saturnum,* a phrase which, as will be seen, Ovid also appears to echo.

Another detail of Euhemerus' account has some bearing on this passage; in Euhemerus' account, Saturnus attempts to diminish the force of the prophecy that his son might displace him (*ap.* Lact. 1.14.1, above). In Euhemerus' account, the contest between Jupiter and Saturnus is brought about by an oracle. Saturnus' failure to thwart the oracle is thus interpreted by Tibullus as reason not only for Jupiter, but also for Apollo, who inspires oracular utterances, to rejoice. The role of Apollo here contrasts sharply with his role in Vergil's Fourth *Eclogue,* which in turn influenced Tibullus' account of the reign of Saturnus in his earlier poem. In the Fourth *Eclogue,* Vergil envisions Apollo and Virgo (Iustitia) as indigenous to *Saturnia regna,* while in this poem Apollo celebrates the defeat of Saturnus. In Tibullus, then, as in Vergil, the Hesiodic tradition surrounding Saturnus and his realm seems to predominate in the earlier poem, whereas the later reference tends more to reflect the account of Euhemerus, as translated by Ennius.

Euhemerus' account of Saturnus is less evident in Horace's works. Although references to Hesiod's metallic myth appear in Horace's late as well as early poems, Saturnus is not mentioned except in his first and second books of *Odes* (published 23 B.C.). Hesiod's myth appears as early as his sixteenth *Epode* (16.40 ff., composed about 41/40 B.C. and published about 29 B.C.),[25] and as late as the

[25] The relative dates of composition of *Epode* 16 and *Ec.* 4 have long been a matter of contention. The two poems appear to have been composed at approximately the same time, and have such similar themes, even similar phrases, that the poets seem to be responding to each other, Horace pessimistically, Vergil optimistically. For this reason, critics have long debated who wrote first, and who is responding to whom. In 1938 Bruno Snell, "Die 16. Epode von Horaz und Vergils 4. Ekloge," *Hermes* 73 (1938) 237-42, tried to show, in two instances, a progression of sources which proved the priority of Vergil. The first progression, concerning the so-called *adynata,* proceeds from Theocritus 1.135-6 to Vergil, *Ec.* 8.26-28 to Horace, *Epode* 16.30-33. (Snell further argues that *Epode* 16.34, which closely resembles *Ec.* 4.22, is not appropriate to its context, whereas *Ec.* 4.22 is.) The second progression, the spontaneous return of the flock to the fold, proceeds from

second *Ode* of his fourth book of *Odes* (published 13 B.C.). In his *Carmen Saeculare* (published 17 B.C.), he celebrates the achievement under Augustus of a golden age, along with the virtues which were

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Theocritus 11.12-13 to Vergil, *Ec.* 4.21 to Horace, *Epode* 16.49-50. Snell maintains that Vergil's *ipsae* is a closer adaptation of Theocritus' term αὐταί than is Horace's *iniussae*.

W. Wimmel, "Über das Verhältnis der 4. Ecloge zur XVI Epode," *Hermes* 81 (1953) 317-44, however, argued that the *adynata* in Horace retained their literal sense, while *Ec.* 4.22 is metaphorical, indicating a more complex development of this golden-age element. He showed that there is a closer verbal relationship between Horace's *adynata* and Lucretius 3.750-2, and thus concluded that *Ec.* 8 was derived from Horace. Wimmel also showed that Theocritus' term αὐταί had already been modified before the time of Horace and Vergil to αὐτόμαται (*Anth.Pal.* 7.173).

Wimmel later published two more articles in support of his original arguments. In one, "Eine Besonderheit der Reihung in augusteischen Gedichten," *Hermes* 82 (1954) 216, he argued that Horace's shapeless description of the golden age, when compared to Vergil's tight structure, was further proof of Horace's priority: Horace would have to be blind to have composed Epode 16 as he did *after* the Fourth *Eclogue*. In his third article on this subject, "Vergils Eclogen und die Vorbilder der 16 Epode des Horaz," *Hermes* 89 (1961) 208-26, a response to Becker's criticisms (see below), Wimmel added new references from Lucretius (5.845 ff.), acknowledged the contact of the *Epode* with Vergil's older *Eclogues*, and concluded that Vergil and Horace composed their poems in the same years.

C. Becker, "Vergils Eklogenbuch," *Hermes* 83 (1955) 341 ff., who wisely emphasized that neither poem reflects a desire of one poet to respond to the other, rejected Wimmel's derivation of Horace's *adynata* from Lucretius on the ground that the main elements in both Vergil and Horace, viz. unnatural love and peace among animals, are missing in Lucretius; he concluded that Horace would have added to Lucretius what is already in Vergil. He also compared Horace's *veniunt ad mulctra* (*Epode* 16.49) to Vergil's *bis venit ad mulctra* (*Ec.* 3.30), a phrase which derives directly from Theocritus 1.25-26. Inasmuch as this phrase appears in the Third *Eclogue*, which is one of Vergil's earliest, and since Horace's single poem has contact points with three other of Vergil's (*Eclogues* 1, 3, 8), Becker concludes that Horace is following Vergil's treatment of the golden age theme. Becker believes that the question of the relationship between *Epode* 16 and *Ec.* 4 should be extended to the relationship between this *Epode* and the entire book of *Eclogues*, which, Becker concludes, Horace had before him when he wrote the Sixteenth *Epode*.

Quite apart from verbal comparisons, which in themselves provide, at best, questionable evidence of priority (and indeed frequently lead only to circular arguments), are the less substantive but equally valid analyses based on the poets' conceptions of the golden age, and their poetic use of that concept. In 1964 H. Drexler, "Zur 16. Epode und 4. Ecloge," *Maia* 16 (1964) 176-203, persuaded by Wimmel's 1953 article, argued that the pessimism of Horace's *Epode* suggested it was earlier, an argument supported by H. C. Gotoff, "On the Fourth Eclogue of Virgil," *Philologus* 111 (1967) 66-79, who emphasized the literary precedent of Herodotus' account of the Phocaean exodus (1.165), as well as the more recent influence

lost as the metallic age deteriorated.[26] Here there is no point in

of Sertorius (Sallust, Frg. 1.61; Plut. *Sert.* 9). Drexler's argument is also supported by the cumulative evidence of the preceding chapters of this study, where I have shown the pessimism traditionally surrounding the golden age theme prior to Vergil's Fourth *Eclogue*. Horace's pessimistic approach to this topic, if it follows Vergil's dramatic reversal of the received tradition, would be anticlimactic at the very least. It is quite possible that the two poets were working independently on the same theme, perhaps even using some of the same sources, and hence formulating similar phrases and ideas. If Horace is dealing with this topic independent of Vergil's treatment of it (a possibility not precluded by his echo of Vergil's earlier *Eclogues*), his pessimism is then consistent with the received tradition. I am convinced that Horace wrote, if not first, then certainly without reference to Vergil's Fourth *Eclogue*. It is possible, as has been suggested by W. C. Helmbold, "Eclogue IV and Epode XVI," *CPh* 53 (1958) 178 and S. Desideri, *Due epodi di Orazio* (*XVI e IX*) (1958), that the two poems were composed simultaneously.

One more argument for Vergil's priority, which the current consensus tends to favor, should perhaps be mentioned. In 1967, Gatz (p. 172) argued that the extinction of the serpent as a golden-age element was a motif found in eastern apocalyptic literature, not in the west. Since Vergil uses Sibylline literature, which would reflect eastern influence (*Or. Sib.* 3.794; cf. Isaiah 11.8), while, according to Gatz, Horace stays within western tradition, Gatz concludes that *Epode* 16.52 follows Vergil's earlier use of the theme (*Ec.* 4.24). This argument, which subsequently persuaded V. Schmidt, "Redeunt Saturnia Regna," (diss., Groningen, 1977) 101 ff. (cf. Ableitinger-Grünberger, 79 n. 65), of Vergil's priority, should be considered only with caution, in view of the proverbial, enormous quantity of snakes with which Italy, and especially the area around Cumae, teems. It would be quite natural for Horace to think of excluding these obnoxious creatures from his *arva beata*.

The debate continues, with many ancillary issues, such as the date of *Epode* 16, hanging in the balance. D. Ableitinger-Grünberger, *Der junge Horaz und die Politik*: *Studien zur 7. und 16. Epode* (1971) 60-65, following the lead of K. Barwick, "Zur Interpretation und Chronologie der 4. Ecloge des Vergil und der 16. und 7. Epode des Horaz," *Philologus* 96 (1944) 58, assigns 38 B.C. as the *terminus ante quem* for *Epode* 16. Regarding the relationship between *Epode* 16 and Vergil's other *Eclogues*, it should be noted that G. W. Bowersock, "A Date in the *Eigth Eclogue*," *HSCP* 75 (1971) 73-80, presents historical evidence that *Eclogue* 8 may have been published as late as 35 B.C. W. Clausen, "On the Date of the *First Eclogue*," *HSCP* 76 (1972) 201-5, accepting Bowersock's evidence, further proposes 35 B.C. as the date of composition of the First *Eclogue*.

For more thorough surveys of the *Prioritätsfrage*, see Ableitinger-Grünberger, 66-79, and A. Setaioli, "L'Epodo XVI di Orazio nella Critica del Dopoguerra," *A &R* 19 (1974) 9-25. Ableitinger-Grünberger and Setaioli both believe Vergil wrote first.

[26] E.g., *Fides, Pax, Honor, Pudor Priscus*, and *Virtus*: *C.S.* 57-8. Horace's *Pudor Priscus* may be the antecedent of Juvenal's *Pudicitia* (*Sat.* 6). The *Clipeus Virtutis*, a golden shield awarded to Augustus in 27 B.C., lists *virtus, iustitia, clementia* and *pietas*. Cf. S. Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, 228 ff. and plate 18.

referring to Saturnus, for this golden age, the fulfillment of the cumulative prophecies of *Ec.* 4, *Aen.* I and VI, has been brought about by a more recent ruler of Italy.

One might expect Horace to exhibit some hostility towards Jupiter when he appears in the context of the metallic myth, in view of the fact that Jupiter tends, as their creator, to be associated with the inferior races, as in Tibullus 1.3. Instead, however, the reverse is true. Horace consistently treats Jupiter with the utmost respect. He uses Jupiter's name, by metonymy, to signify the sky, and also, particularly in the *Satires*, as an oath or exclamation, but he never vilifies Jupiter for the cruel lot which he has imposed upon mortals. He treats Jupiter as the supreme ruler of the universe: he is no mere king, but one who rules over kings (*Od.* 3.1.6). Horace may refer humorously to Augustus as Jupiter (*e.g. Ep.* 1.19.43), but he never minimizes the power of this great god (*e.g. Od.* 1.2.). For Horace, Pollux, Hercules, and Bacchus are favorite *exempla* of mortals who have been deified because of their benefactions, a fate which he foresees for Augustus even while alive (*e.g.*, *Od.* 3.3; 3.5; *Ep.* 1.1.15 ff.).[27] Horace treats Jupiter, however, as if he always was and always will be the supreme ruler of the universe.

Vergil rationalizes, in the first *Georgic*, that Jupiter improved the lot of the mortal race by removing the luxuries of life and by concealing advantages such as fire, so that this race would be forced to seek them out, thereby developing skills and ingenuity. Horace, by contrast, concludes in his sixteenth *Epode* that Jupiter concealed (*secrevit*) from the deteriorating mortal race the place itself where the blessings of the metallic golden age continue to exist:

arva, beata
petamus arva divites et insulas. . . .
Iuppiter illa piae secrevit litora genti,
ut inquinavit aere tempus aureum;
aere, dehinc ferro duravit saecula, quorum
piis secunda vate me datur fuga. (*Epode* 16.41-66)

Horace does not blame Jupiter for the deterioration. He seems to envision the deterioration of the race as a natural process. Jupiter merely protects this special place from those who are unworthy of it.

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[27] S. Commager, *The Odes of Horace* (1962), 169; 209 ff.

When Horace mentions Saturnus, however, his attitude is either neutral or hostile. In his first book of *Odes*, he addresses Jupiter as father and guardian of the human race and as son of Saturnus:

gentis humanae pater atque custos,
orte Saturno. . . . (*Od.* 1.12.49-50)

His attitude toward Saturnus here is relatively neutral, while Jupiter is invoked with great respect, as the protector of the human race. In his second book of *Odes*, however, the fearful character of Euhemerus' Saturnus may have influenced Horace:

domitosque Herculea manu
Telluris iuvenes, unde periculum
fulgens contremuit domus
Saturni veteris. (*Od.* 2.12.7-9)

The primary allusion here is to the Titan's attempt to oust Zeus from Olympus; the terror that the "house of ancient Saturnus," i.e., Jupiter, experienced at this attempt may have been inferred from Hesiod's account without recourse to Euhemerus, of course, but Euhemerus' account of Saturnus' fear of his brother Titan, and, later, of his son, might also have influenced this particular allusion to Saturnus. Hesiod's Zeus, certainly, does not respond fearfully to the attack of the Titans, nor does his father, Cronus, fear the Titans.

Horace mentions Saturnus a third time, in an astrological context:[28]

[28] In Hellenistic and Roman Astrology, the planet Saturn was identified with Cronus. Saturn was the most distant and the slowest of the seven planets, whose distance was judged by the speed of their orbits through the heavens. Because of its speed and distance, Saturn was envisioned as an older, slower sun (cf. Manilius, *Astr.* 4.501: *Saturnusve suam glaciem iaculatur*). The astrological character of Saturn is that of a wise old man, serious, gloomy, and capable of inflicting harm, but not intentionally evil. Because of his age, he enjoys a primacy and is a venerable paternal figure. He is also the destroyer of his own works: his Greek name was thought to be a pun on the Greek word for time, the treacherous reaper. Most of these traits stem from Saturn's location. He is the highest of the planets, and hence the most dignified and the most revered. He thus was envisioned as the head and brains of the planetary world, and therefore as the most rational. Others conceive of Saturn as cold and morose. Ptolemy says that these qualities were assigned because Saturn is too far from the sun to derive its warmth and too far from the earth to derive its moisture. In cuneiform inscriptions, the planet Saturn appears as the judgment god. See Ptolemy, *Tetrabib.*, 1.4; A. Bouché-Leclercq, *L'astrologie Grecque* (1899), especially pp. 543-627, for a summary of the role of astrology in the Roman

te Iovis impio
tutela Saturno refulgens
eripuit. (*Od.* 2.17.22-4)

Here Horace is assuring Maecenas that, because their horoscopes coincide, it is the will of heaven that they are destined to die on the same day. His use of *impius* to depict Saturnus should be noted. Admittedly, the mere act of destroying his own children, as in Hesiod's account, would qualify Cronus for this adjective, but then Jupiter would also be *impius* because he overthrew his father, and Horace would not level such a charge against Jupiter. Euhemerus' account of the conflict between Saturnus and Jupiter would tend to explain the charge of impiety against the former, however, as, in that account Saturnus exhibits an outrageous attitude not only toward his son, but also attempts to thwart the oracle which warns of Jupiter's succession.

Echoes of Euhemerus' theory are definitely found in Horace's use of Pollux, Hercules, and Bacchus as *exempla* of mortals who were honored after their deaths because of their services to mortals.[29] As Commager observes, Horace even explains away Orpheus' magical ability to tame wild beasts as evidence that Orpheus (*sacer interpres deorum, A.P.* 391) was a "primitive peacemaker." [30] Thus, although echoes of Euhemerus are questionable in Horace's account of Saturnus, traditional Greek sources are not adequate to explain the charge of Saturnus' *impietas*, whereas this detail is at least consistent with Euhemerus' account. Horace's euhemeristic accounts of other deities show that this theory was known to him, and, of course, Vergil's use of Euhemerus' account undoubtedly had some influence on Horace's perception of the gods.

Euhemerus' account of Saturnus is a harsh picture of one who is not only the father of Jupiter and Juno, but from whom Italy

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world; Boll-Bezold-Gundel, *Sternglaube und Sterndeutung* (Teubner, 4th ed., 1931); F. Cumont, *Astrology and Religion Among the Greeks and Romans* (1912); F. H. Cramer, *Astrology in Roman Law and Politics*, Am. Philos. Soc. (Phila., 1954). In the *Georgics*, this planet appears as part of the constellation Libra, Augustus' natal sign, where it is called *frigida Saturni stella* (*G.* 1.336). The constellation Libra symbolizes the scales of justice, and also indicates the season when the farmer must plant his grain.

[29] Cf. Cic. *Leg.* 2.8.19; Pliny *N.H.* 2.5.18; S. Commager, *The Odes of Horace* (Bloomington 1962) 22, 210 ff.

[30] Commager, 18; cf. 274-277. Note that Orpheus is not one of the *pauci* (*Aen.* 6.128-130) who are deified because of their *virtutes*. In *Aen.* 6.662-664 he instead appears in the *Sedes Beatae*.

received her name, *Saturnia terra*. Tibullus, in his second book of poems, takes sides in the conflict between father and son and celebrates the defeat of Saturnus. Vergil, however, takes a more humane attitude, allowing for reconciliation. He turns the tale around, telling it from Saturnus' point of view, and, more importantly, shows Saturnus accepting his lot and making the best of it by bringing about a golden age in Italy.

If this modification of the account of Saturnus, wherein Hesiod's version is displaced by Euhemerus' version, were peculiar to Vergil and Tibullus, one might assume that it was a reflection of political and historical events in Rome. The deification of Julius Caesar was a recent event, and Augustus was, increasingly, depicted as a god on earth or even equated with Jupiter.[31] The modification is also reflected, however, a generation later in the works of Ovid. Ovid follows the Hesiodic account of the golden age in the *Amores* (published ca. 20 B.C.), in the *Heroides* (published after the *Amores*), and in the *Metamorphoses* (composition begun *ca.* 2 A.D.).

In the *Amores*, Ovid maintains that *lucrum*—gold, silver, bronze, or money in general—was hidden away from the reach of mortals. This is an obvious play upon Hesiod's complaint (*Erga* 42) that the gods keep hidden man's means of livelihood:

> at cum regna senex caeli Saturnus haberet,
>   omne lucrum tenebris alta premebat humus:
> aeraque et argentum cumque auro pondera ferri
>   Manibus admorat, nullaque massa fuit. (*Am.* 3.8.35-8)

He proceeds to depict *Saturnia regna* which are very much like the Hesiodic golden age of Vergil's Fourth *Eclogue*: spontaneous production of food, no ploughing, no boundaries, and no sailing (*Am.* 3.8.39-44).

The Hesiodic version is suggested again in the *Heroides*, where

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[31] Horace hesitates to equate Augustus directly with Jupiter, preferring to make his reign on earth parallel to that of Jupiter in heaven (e.g., *Odes* 3.5.1), but the Greeks frequently identified Augustus with Zeus, for example as *Zeus Aineiadês* (*Anth. Pal.* 9.307; cf. 9.297) or *Zeus Sebastos Kronidês* (Page, *Greek Lit. Pap.* 113.13, p. 470), etc. At Cyrene, the temple of Zeus was rededicated *Iovi Augusto* (ILS 3088) during the reign of Augustus, or possibly as late as Tiberius. See R. Goodchild, J. M. Reynolds, and C. J. Herington, "The Temple of Zeus at Cyrene," *PBSR* 26 (1958) 35 ff.; S. Weinstock, 304-5.

the notion that simple piety is characteristic of the reign of Saturnus is scornfully acknowledged by Ovid's Phaedra:[32]

nec quia privigno videar coitura noverca,
  terruerint animos nomina vana tuos.
ista vetus pietas, aevo moritura futuro,
  rustica Saturno regna tenente fuit.
Iuppiter esse pium statuit, quodcumque iuvaret:
  et fas omne facit fratre marita soror. (*Ep.* 4.129-34)

From Phaedra's point of view, the present age is preferable, but this is, of course, Ovid's playful way of showing the degeneration of the ages under Jupiter. Phaedra's manipulation of *pietas* to show the superiority of her own time shows instead how debased a conception she has of *pietas*.

In the *Metamorphoses*, Ovid again depicts a golden age very much like that of Vergil's Fourth *Eclogue* and like that of the third poem of Tibullus' first book. Ovid's chronology, like that of Aratus, is one of straight linear deterioration. There is no interruption for the race of heroes, as in Hesiod, nor is there any suggestion of recurrence, as in Vergil. Ovid pointedly emphasizes the lack of seasonal change:

ver erat aeternum . . . nec renovatus ager
gravidis canebat aristis. (*M.* 1.107-10)

This is a very Hesiodic golden age. Saturnus is the deity who rules over the golden age, and, as in Hesiod, he is cast into Tartarus when he is overthrown. When Jupiter comes to power, deterioration ensues:

postquam, Saturno tenebrosa in Tartara misso,
sub Iove mundus erat, subiit argentea proles
auro deterior, fulvo pretiosior aere. (*M.* 1.113-15)

Another tradition concerning the golden age, which is contrary to the Hesiodic version, appears in the *Fasti*, which Ovid wrote at about the same time he was writing the *Metamorphoses*. In the *Fasti*, the Roman god, Janus, relates the arrival and reign of Saturnus (*F.* 1.233 ff.). According to this account, Italy was already enjoying a golden age of sorts when the *falcifer deus* (1.234)[33] came to the

[32] Cf. Propertius, 2.32.52: *hic mos* <*ut nostrae nolint peccare puellae*> *Saturno regna tenente fuit.*

[33] Note also Janus' added detail that Saturnus came *by ship* (*rate venit. F.* 1.233); the downfall of the human race was frequently blamed upon inventions such as ships.

Tuscan river, having previously wandered over the world. Janus, who was ruler when Saturnus arrived, recalls that Saturnus was welcomed in this land after being driven out of the heavenly regions by Jupiter, and thus, for a long time, the land was called *Saturnia* after this god, as well as Latium, because the god was hiding there:

> dicta quoque est Latium terra latente deo. (*F*. 1.238)

The situation in Italy when Saturnus arrives corresponds to Aratus' account of the golden age, and Dikê's departure after Aratus' bronze race kills and consumes the ploughing-ox is suggested by the departure of Iustitia. She is the last of the gods to depart, after this land, following Saturnus' arrival, becomes intolerable for the heavenly gods:

> tunc ego ⟨Janus⟩ regnabam, patiens cum terra deorum
> esset et humanis numina mixta locis,
> nondum Iustitiam facinus mortale fugarat,
> ultima de superis illa reliquit humum.
> proque metu populum sine vi pudor ipse regebat,
> nullus erat iustis reddere iura labor. (*F*. 1.247-52)

With Saturnus, says Janus, came *amor habendi, qui nunc est summus* (*F*. 1.195).[34] *Amor habendi*, properly "a desire for possession," is a morally ambiguous phenomenon. On the one hand, it motivates the individual to work hard to accumulate material wealth. This is what motivates Vergil's industrious bees in the fourth *Georgic* (*G*. 4.177). It also motivates the Italian farmers who are descended from Saturnus' golden age (*A*. 8.327). Beyond a certain degree, however, a desire for possession acquires negative force. Vergil distinguishes these degrees of *amor habendi*, indicating the negative degree by appending *belli rabies*, "the madness of war" (*A*. 8.327). Ironically, the very quality which was instrumental in achieving a golden age in Italy now contributes to the deterioration which changes life in Italy from a golden age to a *decolor aetas* (*A*. 8.326).

In the *Georgics*, Vergil gives examples of the material bliss to which the ethic of hard work, motivated by a desire for possession, can lead, but he fails to recognize the danger of too much success. The farmer, for example, is encouraged to be *avarus* (*G*. 1.47). Implicit in his depiction of the Corycian farmer (*G*. 4.125 ff.),

[34] Cf. *Metam*. 1.128 ff., where, by contrast, *amor sceleratus habendi* was one of the crimes which came in by degree (*subiere*) during the iron age.

moreover, is the assumption that the old man's wealth will stay within modest bounds, and that he will be sufficiently wise to abstain from any attempt to increase his wealth beyond his needs.

Human nature, however, does not warrant such an assumption, as Ovid is quick to recognize. Ovid pursues the question of *amor habendi*, removing any controlling factor, such as wisdom, from the continual increase of wealth. The inevitable result of a system based upon investment and interest comes to pass: like the proverbial sorcerer's apprentice, Ovid's Saturnus introduces *amor habendi* to the simple folk who inhabit Latium, with the result that wealth and opulence develop and grow. Soon, as large investments replace small investments (*et faenum capiti supposuisse fuit*, *F.* 1.206), and Romans begin to pursue high rank and offices instead of agriculture (*iura dabat populis posito modo praetor aratro*, *F.* 1.207),[35] Rome itself begins to become excessively opulent. Prior to Saturnus' arrival, says Janus, not only Iustitia, but all the gods, including Pudor, still dwelt upon earth. It was then quite simple to render legal decisions to just men: there would be no need for such decisions if men were truly just, and, hence, dispensing justice was, literally, *nullus labor* (*F.* 1.252).

Ovid is, of course, making fun of Vergil's ponderous praise of *amor habendi*. Ovid follows Vergil in placing the golden age in Italy, but, in keeping with the pessimism of the metallic tradition, indicates that the truly felicitous stage for mortals preceded the reign of Saturnus. Empedocles, too, had followed a similar chronology (*Frag.* 128.1-3 DK). For Empedocles, however, this would mean the age of felicity was before Saturnus' reign in heaven, but for Ovid, it would mean that the felicitous age in Italy occurred while Saturnus still reigned in heaven, and before he had come to Italy.

Ovid thus modifies Hesiod's chronology for the golden age and coordinates it with Vergil's chronology, but makes Vergil's agricultural golden age the beginning of Roman desire for wealth. According to Ovid, Saturnus brought to Italy a popular passion for *lucra*:

> vix ego Saturno quemquam regnante videbam,
> cuius non animo dulcia lucra forent. (*F.* 1.193-4)

In the *Amores*, by contrast, where he follows the Hesiodic tradition, Ovid declares that there was no *lucrum* in the golden age (*Am.*

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[35] Cf. Vergil, *G.* 1.506-7: *non ullus aratro dignus honos.*

3.8.35-8, above). In the *Fasti*, *amor habendi* arrives with Saturnus and thereafter lurks insidiously in Roman society.

Finally, Ovid's use of the verb, *fugare*, should be considered, for he seems to echo the phrase used by Ennius (*fugasse Saturnum*) and by Tibullus (*Saturno fugato*). For Ovid, however, the subject is *mortale facinus* and Iustitia is the object:

> nondum Iustitiam facinus mortale fugarat. (*F*. 1.249)

Human beings committed their terrible crime, of course, and sent Iustitia (Dikê) fleeing from the earth, when they killed and consumed the ploughing-ox. Ovid has incorporated Aratus' account of the metallic myth and the crime committed by the race of bronze into his account of Saturnus and his arrival in Italy, just as Vergil did at the close of the second *Georgic*.

Ovid thus makes use of the metallic as well as the agricultural (Ennian and Vergilian) golden ages in the *Fasti*, although he follows the metallic tradition alone in his other works. Ovid seems to be attacking Vergil's treatment of Saturnus, exploiting the investment metaphor implicit in Saturnus' agricultural associations, and showing Vergil's agricultural society going to ruinous extremes:

> et dum possideant plurima, plura petunt. (*F*. 1.212)

This attitude toward Saturnus clearly evolved in the time of Augustus. If the pattern of stripping the god of the immortal grandeur which he once enjoyed as ruler at the time of the golden age were found only in Vergil and Tibullus, one might trace the change solely to political events at Rome, such as the deification of Julius Caesar and the gradual elevation of Augustus. Such a conclusion is confounded, however, by Ovid, who follows the Hesiodic tradition throughout his writing career, but midway through his career, in the *Fasti*, adds another version which reflects Vergil's account and, possibly, Ennius' translation of Euhemerus.

Such a pattern of re-evaluation of Saturnus, to the extent that it shows the Latin poets taking into consideration Euhemerus' version of the tale, may show that these poets tended to turn to Ennius as they attempted to deal with Roman history and with such genres as Ennius had attempted before them. He had already set a precedent for Roman national epic. While there is no direct evidence of Euhemerus in the extant fragments of Ennius' *Annales*, Ennius' account of Saturnus and Jupiter would bear more weight

with Roman writers, especially when they attempted to deal with Roman pre-history.

Once Ennius' epithet for Italy, *Saturnia terra*, is adopted, moreover, obvious difficulties arise because of the possible pejorative implications. We do not know what Ennius said about this land in the *Annales*, where the epithet seems to have been used, but it appears that Vergil recognized the inconsistencies in the various traditions and reconciled them.

Vergil's depiction of Saturnus in the *Aeneid* seems to bear much of the responsibility for the re-evaluation of Saturnus which occurs under Augustus. An awareness of Euhemerus' account also affects the way one interprets Vergil's characterization of Juno. The adjective, *Saturnia*, as applied in the *Aeneid* to Juno, has been interpreted as signifying the cruelty of Juno, and also her insatiable hatred of the Trojans.[36] Vergil's use of Euhemerus shows that it also anticipates her eventual reconciliation.

In the *Aeneid*, Juno is aligned with the native Italians, whom she is helping to resist the Trojans. The Trojans have come to this land in exile, like Saturnus, after losing their own land. Saturnus, however, had been driven into exile only after he tried to thwart the oracle and to prevent the inevitable succession of the next generation to his throne. Vergil makes particularly frequent use of the adjective *Saturnia* for Juno in the last six books, reminding his reader that Juno shares her father's anger, but also anticipating her ability to be reconciled as her father finally was. When Saturnus appears in the *Aeneid*, he is no longer opposing the inevitable, but the reminiscence of Ennius' translation recalls a time when he did. Vergil's Saturnus has learned, through bitter experience, to accept the inevitable dictates of fate; he is a pacified Saturnus. By referring to Juno as *Saturnia*, Vergil thus prepares his reader for her final compromise at the close of the epic, as she follows her father's example and becomes pacified.

In the *Georgics*, Saturnus also represents another kind of reconciliation. He embodies the reconciliation of two contradictory attitudes toward agriculture, one favorable, one hostile. As the

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[36] *Saturnia autem nomen quasi ad crudelitatem aptum posuit*; *Vergilius enim, ubicumque Iovi vel Iunoni Saturni nomen adiungit, causas eis crudelitatis adnectit*. . . . Serv. Dan. *ad A*. 1.23; cf. W. S. Anderson, *SPh* 55 (1958) 519-32 and V. Buchheit, "Junos Wandel zum Guten: Verg. *Aen*. 1.279-282," *Gymnasium* 81 (1974) 499-503.

ancient Roman agricultural deity, he is indeed "golden," for the state treasury is housed in his temple, and much of that wealth once came from agriculture. Yet his name evokes a memory of that time of felicity and freedom from toil—especially agricultural toil—known as a golden age.

CHAPTER SIX

VERGIL'S BEES: A PROPHECY FULFILLED

Vergil's bees, like Saturnus, also function as a bridge between the metallic golden age and agriculture. On the one hand, they still enjoy some of the advantages which were available to human beings during the metallic golden age. On the other hand, the fulfillment they achieve by practicing their special skill, an activity in which they mimic, to some extent, the activity of the farmer, is an eloquent testimony to the satisfactions of agricultural life.

The advantages of the metallic golden age which the bees still enjoy are a communal life and the apparently spontaneous bounty of nature. The latter advantage is most evident in the availability of honey: bees alone can still gather this precious liquid from leaves, whereas human beings could also do this during the metallic golden age. Each generation of bees, moreover, like Hesiod's metallic races, is created anew by the gods. In both cases a favorable environment is also created by a superior power, but in the case of the bees, that superior power is the farmer rather than the Olympian gods. Finally, when Hesiod's golden race becomes unsatisfactory, the gods destroy it. When a generation of honey-bees becomes unsatisfactory, they, too, are destroyed, but by the farmer instead of by the gods. The farmer is thus the superior power who stands midway between the bees and their creators, controlling their day-to-day existence.

The happy existence of Vergil's bees, however, in contrast to that of Hesiod's golden race, is characterized by toil rather than by leisure. This difference is reflected in the ambitious, hard-working nature of Vergil's bees as opposed to the lethargy of the metallic golden race which Vergil describes in the first *Georgic.* Another difference between the felicitous existence of Vergil's bees and Hesiod's golden race corresponds to Vergil's innovation in the Fourth *Eclogue,* namely the promise that a golden age will recur. In Hesiod's myth, each succeeding metallic race is inferior to the preceding one, and each race is a fixed entity, that is, no metallic race changes from good to bad or vice versa. In the Fourth *Eclogue,* Vergil's golden race will not only recur, but will also eventually

deteriorate. In the fourth *Georgic*, some of the bees, despite their divine origin, are in a deteriorated condition, and indeed are replaced by another, more "golden" hive. Vergil's bees thus deteriorate in a way that Hesiod's golden race does not. On the other hand, those bees who do not deteriorate are succeeded, like Hesiod's golden race, by another generation which is not directly related to them.

Let us first consider the degree to which the bees correspond to the golden race of Hesiod and of Vergil's Fourth *Eclogue*. The apparent spontaneity of nature which Vergil's bees enjoy is manifested by the flowers and herbs which the farmer has planted for them. In the Fourth *Eclogue*, Vergil proclaims that the earth will spontaneously provide all human needs. One of the ways this spontaneity reveals itself is in the flowers surrounding the crib of the newly-born infant:

> At tibi prima, puer, nullo munuscula cultu
> errantis hederas passim cum baccare tellus
> mixta ridenti colocasia fundet acantho . . .
> ipsa tibi blandos fundent cunabula flores. (*Ec.* 4.18-23)

In this passage, a cradle (*cunabula, Ec.* 4.23) is being prepared for an infant whose birth will usher in an age filled with pleasure and freedom from war and toil. The farmer in the fourth *Georgic* also prepares *cunabula*, not for a human infant, however, but for a new hive of bees. This cradle, too, is surrounded by flowers and aromatic herbs and perfumes:

> huc tu iussos asperge sapores,
> trita melisphylla et cerinthae ignobile gramen,
> tinnitusque cie et Matris quate cymbala circum:
> ipsae consident medicatis sedibus, ipsae
> intima more suo sese in cunabula condent. (*G.* 4.62-6)

The cradle in the Fourth *Eclogue* awaits the harbinger of a new *gens aurea* (*Ec.* 4.9), which will somehow descend from the heavens:

> iam nova progenies caelo demittitur alto. (*Ec.* 4.7)

The suggestion here is that a new golden race, like the original golden race in Hesiod's myth, will be created by the Olympian gods and then sent down to earth (*caelo demittitur alto*). Such a statement reflects the mythic quality of the mortal race which Vergil here envisions. This mythic race will somehow descend from

the heavens at the same time the unnamed mother gives birth to an apparently non-mythic infant.

In the fourth *Georgic*, Vergil suggests that the bees also, like the mythical *gens aurea* of the Fourth *Eclogue*, *demittitur caelo*. Bees, he says, do not reproduce sexually. Instead, each new generation is gathered from leaves and herbs: their origin seems to be the same as the origin of the *aërii mellis caelestia dona* (*G.* 4.1), for adult bees gather the new progeny in the same way they gather sweet nectar from leaves and flowers:

illum adeo placuisse apibus mirabere morem,
quod neque concubitu indulgent, nec corpora segnes
in Venerem solvunt aut fetus nixibus edunt;
verum ipsae e foliis natos, e suavibus herbis
ore legunt, ipsae regem parvosque Quirites
sufficiunt, aulasque et cerea regna refingunt. (*G.* 4.197-202)

The bees themselves, like the honey they gather, thus also appear to be *caelestia dona*. Unlike the golden race of the Fourth *Eclogue*, however, they are real, with a valuable function which benefits the life of human beings. A heavenly power, moreover, perhaps the same one which sends down the bees and the product they harvest, also sends down rain to nourish the farmer's fields of grain:

quique caelo demittis imbrem. . . . (*G.* 1.23)

This heavenly power, of course, is Jupiter, who terminated the metallic golden age, set new goals for human beings, and endowed his own benefactors, the bees themselves, with the same initiative and drive he intended for human beings.

The social structure enjoyed by Vergil's bees, moreover, is also a remnant of the metallic golden age:

solae communis natos, consortia tecta
urbis habent . . . et in medium quaesita reponunt. (*G.* 4.153-7)

Although Vergil does not specifically state in the Fourth *Eclogue* that the new golden race will have a communal society, he does indicate that the abundance of the coming age will preclude the need for walled cities, which he associates with the end of the golden age: *pauca . . . suberunt . . . vestigia fraudis, . . . quae cingere muris oppida . . . iubeant* (*Ec.* 4.31-3). In the first *Georgic*, he clearly states that human beings had a communal society during the metallic golden age:

ne signare quidem aut partiri limite campum
fas erat: in medium quaerebant. (*G.* 1.126-7)

There is no indication, however, that Jupiter wanted human beings to return to a communal society. Indeed, at the close of the second *Georgic,* he implies that the existence of Rome—a city founded by men almost as "golden" as Saturnus himself—is possible because of the wall which marks her bounds:

hanc olim veteres vitam coluere Sabini,
hanc Remus et frater; sic fortis Etruria crevit
scilicet et rerum facta est pulcherrima Roma,
septemque una sibi muro circumdedit arces. (*G.* 2.532-5)

Vergil does not indicate what degree of communal family life he envisions for human beings during the metallic golden age. In Hesiod's metallic myth there was no family life, nor was there any need for it, since the gods created each generation anew. In the fourth *Georgic,* the domestic life of Vergil's bees seems to represent a mid-point between Hesiod's golden race and Vergil's farmer. The members of Hesiod's golden race have no direct heirs, nor do Vergil's bees. A major concern of Vergil's farmer, by contrast, is providing for his family. The farmer's devotion to his family as well as to his country provides strong motivation to endure the labor of his vocation: [1]

agricola incurvo terram dimovit aratro:
hinc anni labor, hinc patriam parvosque nepotes
sustinet. (*G.* 2.513-5)

His family, in turn, is a source of great happiness for him:

interea dulces pendent circum oscula nati,
casta pudicitiam servat domus. (*G.* 2.523-4)

Vergil's bees have a similar concern for succeeding generations and for their hive. A mock-epic battle reveals their devotion to their "king" (*G.* 4.67 ff.). A significant portion of the workers at the hive, moreover, devote their efforts to caring for and "educating" the new offspring (*aliae spem gentis adultos/ educunt fetus, G.* 4.162-3), and the zeal with which the bees continually restore their hive for themselves and for posterity (e.g., *G.* 4.201-2) resolves any doubt of

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[1] Cf. H. Dahlmann, "Der Bienenstaat in Vergils *Georgica,*" *Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur* (Mainz, 1954) nr. 10, 547-62, who interprets Vergil's bees as a Stoic *exemplum in parvo* for human beings.

their devotion to "family" and "country", which are, for these communally-organized creatures, one and the same thing. Sustaining the hive is a major concern of the bees, for the future as well as for the present inhabitants:

> at genus immortale manet, multosque per annos
> stat fortuna domus, et avi numerantur avorum. (*G.* 4.208-9)

Herbs and flowers are an important detail in the world of the mythical golden race of the Fourth *Eclogue* and also in the world of the bees of the fourth *Georgic*. In the Fourth *Eclogue*, the flowers suggest both the pleasure and the abundance which will be known during the new golden age. One manifestation of the spontaneity of nature in the new golden age will be the generous supply of an aromatic shrub, *Assyrium amomum*, which will grow everywhere (*vulgo*, *Ec.* 4.25). Fragrances such as this will enhance the lives of the new golden race.

In the fourth *Georgic*, Vergil's farmer is instructed to plant an abundance of flowers and aromatic herbs in order to attract a hive of bees:

> haec circum casiae virides et olentia late
> serpylla et graviter spirantis copia thymbrae
> floreat, inriguumque bibant violaria fontem. (*G.* 4.30-32)

Mezereon (*casiae*, *G.* 4.30), thyme—both wild (*serpylla*, *G.* 4.31) and domesticated (*thymum*, *G.* 4.112, 169)—and savory (*thymbra*, *G.* 4.31), all strong-scented herbs, are as attractive to bees as are lovely flowers, whether purple violets (*violaria*, *G.* 4.32), or narcissus (*G.* 4.123) or, simply, fragrant yellow flowers (*croceis halantes floribus horti*, *G.* 4.109). Ivy and acanthus, moreover, which will grace the cradle of the infant in the Fourth *Eclogue*, also grace the garden of the Corycian farmer (*G.* 4.123-4), who has successfully enticed a hive of bees to his garden.

In the fourth *Georgic*, however, these flowers and fragrances have practical as well as aesthetic value. The bees are attracted [2] not

[2] M. Detienne, "Orphée au Miel," *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica*, 12 (1968), 7-23, has argued that Aristaeus lost his hive because, by pursuing Eurydice, he had violated the requirement that the apicultor be free of offensive odors, especially those of debauchers and seducers. These "offensive odors" would be the seductive perfumes worn by new brides and by prostitutes. A close examination of the scents with which Vergil's farmer lures his hive, however, indicates that at least some of the scents (particularly floral scents, e.g. the scent of roses) which, according to Detienne's theory,

merely by their beauty, but by the promise of the harvest they will yield. Thus the flowers and fragrances which promise simple pleasure and luxury in the Fourth *Eclogue*, in the fourth *Georgic* have practical application as well.

In the Fourth *Eclogue*, as in the metallic tradition more generally, the gods control the environment and lives of the members of the golden race. In the fourth *Georgic*, the gods create the bees, but the farmer is the power which controls the immediate environment and existence of the bees. It is he who plants the thyme and aromatic herbs, who channels streams in which the bees can refresh themselves when they are hot or thirsty, and who keeps the larger creatures from posing a threat for the tiny bees. The farmer also has the power to restrain the heroic inclinations of these creatures. When they assemble for a battle, which reaches epic proportions (*G.* 4.67-85), the farmer easily brings the conflict to a halt by throwing a handful of dust upon them:

> hi motus animorum atque haec certamina tanta
> pulveris exigui iactu compressa quiescent. (*G.* 4.86-7)

For the bees, then, the farmer is a powerful figure of authority as well as their benefactor, the mighty creature who provides their felicitous environment. The bees, in turn, are able to perform a function which is beneficial to the farmer. They wander through their idyllic surroundings "harvesting" (*metunt*, *G.* 4.54) flowers, unhindered by the lethargy which human beings experienced in that all-too-comfortable time when they, too, could draw honey directly from plants.

During the metallic golden age, bees had no function. Honey was readily available to all, dripping from oak trees or from the leaves of plants. This is one of the luxuries anticipated in the Fourth *Eclogue*:

> durae quercus sudabunt roscida mella. (*Ec.* 4.30)

It is also one of the luxuries which mortals lost when Jupiter terminated the original golden age:

> mellaque decussit foliis. (*G.* 1.131)

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should make Aristaeus "offensive" to the bees, are instead the very scents which *attract* the bees.

Even if bees had no function during the metallic golden age, however, Vergil nonetheless conceives of them as existing during that period, for during that time they assisted the infant Jupiter, who was in hiding on Crete (*G.* 4.149 ff.). Jupiter rewarded their care on Crete by giving them their peculiar *naturae*,[3] by which Vergil seems to mean the dedication with which they practice their skill.

In his account of the end of the golden age, Vergil emphasizes that invention and skill were essential components of Jupiter's goal for human beings:

> ut varias usus meditando extunderet artis
> paulatim, et sulcis frumenti quaereret herbam,
> ut silicis venis abstrusum excuderet ignem. (*G.* 1.133-5)

Human beings were to discover and develop skills by "beating them out," almost like blacksmiths beating a tool or weapon out of a formless lump of metal. Vergil's use of both *extundere* and *excudere*, which are roughly synonymous,[4] should be noted, for neither word appears again until the fourth *Georgic*. Here they convey the manner in which Jupiter intended mortals to discover and develop knowledge and skills. In the fourth *Georgic*, *extundere* conveys Aristaeus' agricultural achievements, and *excudere* depicts the skill with which the bees construct their hive.

Extundere is used twice in the fourth *Georgic*, first to describe Aristaeus as the *deus* who *hanc artem extudit* (*G.* 4.315), and again when Aristaeus names the skills he has "hammered out," that is, developed and mastered, through inventiveness and diligence:

> en etiam hunc ipsum vitae mortalis honorem,
> quem mihi vix frugum et pecorum custodia sollers
> omnia temptanti extuderat . . . relinquo. (*G.* 4.326-8)

Excudere, which also means "to hammer out" also appears in the fourth *Georgic*:

> hinc arte recentis
> excudunt ceras et mella tenacia fingunt. (*G.* 4.56-7)

[3] Cf. Diod. Sic. 5.70.5.

[4] *Extundere* appears once in the *Aeneid*, where Vulcan is said to have fabricated future events at Rome, including the shield which fell from heaven during the reign of Numa, on Aeneas' shield—another example of Vergil's use of a theme *in parvo* (*lapsa ancilia caelo / extuderat*, *A.* 8.664-5). *Excudere* appears twice in the *Aeneid*. Achates starts a fire by driving a spark from flint (*silici scintillam excudit Achates / suscepitque ignem*, *A.* 1.174) (cf. *G.* 1.135), and Anchises uses this verb in reference to the craft of bronze sculptors (*A.* 6.847).

Here the bees are depicted as tiny artisans fashioning honeycomb. The bees are depicted again and again in this book as tiny craftsmen, as in the subsequent passage where they are compared to Jupiter's mighty craftsmen, the Cyclopes (*G.* 4.170 ff.).[5] While the Cyclopes work with molten metals, the bees work with a more delicate medium:

> aliae purissima mella
> stipant et liquido distendunt nectare cellas. (*G.* 4.163-4)

Extundere and *excudere* appear to be carefully placed in this poem. They indicate Jupiter's beneficent intention for mortals in the first book, and the fulfillment of that intention in the fourth book. Aristaeus becomes a *deus* largely because he has fulfilled the intent of Jupiter, and in the process he has set a pattern for the individual farmer to emulate. The honey-bees, too, have acquired their own peculiar skill, and their happy exercise of it sets another *exemplum*, albeit *in parvo*, for the farmer.

The long Cyclopes simile of the fourth *Georgic* is introduced by the statement that Jupiter gave the bees their *naturas* as a reward for the care they gave him when he was an infant, in hiding from his father, on the island of Crete (*G.* 4.149-52). Vergil seems to intend Jupiter's gift to the bees to coincide with Jupiter's removal of honey from the ready access of other creatures (*G.* 1.131). In other words, Jupiter is presumed to have given the bees their peculiar character, which motivates them to distil honey, at the same time that he terminated the metallic golden age. The honey-bees are a link to that lost golden age, not only through their production of honey, but also as the partial realization of the mythical golden race, whose return was predicted in the Fourth *Eclogue*. The negative aspect of that race, however, has been replaced by the bees' admirable *naturae*. As a result, the bees, like Saturnus, serve to bridge the metallic golden age and agriculture.

One aspect of Vergil's agricultural golden age which frequently surfaces is its tenuous quality. Not only can it be regained, but it can also be lost once again. The agricultural golden age in the *Aeneid* is in the process of being lost. There the Latin farmers busily bend and weave twigs not into harrows (*vimineas crates, G.* 1.95; cf. *crates arbuteae, G.* 1.166), but into breast-plates (*umbonum*

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[5] Cf. *A.* 8.449-53, where Vergil repeats the Cyclopes simile (*G.* 4.170-5) almost *verbatim*.

cratis, A. 7.633)—equipment for war, not peace. *Saturnia regna* have fallen prey to the ever-present danger of decline:

sic omnia fatis
in peius ruere ac retro sublapsa referri. (*G.* 1.199-200)

The felicitous condition of the honey-bees is equally tenuous, for they can be just as self-destructive as the Latin farmers of the *Aeneid.* If, for some reason, they have lost their king, they have been known to break the bond which unites the hive, and to destroy the carefully constructed web of honeycomb:

constructaque mella
diripuere ipsae et cratis favorum. (*G.* 4.213-4)

In the *Aeneid,* Evander reports that the golden race of Saturnus was replaced by a race which was *deterior . . . ac decolor*:

deterior donec paulatim ac decolor aetas
et belli rabies et amor successit habendi. (*A.* 8.326-7)

When the bees wage their epic battle, the farmer is told, the better leader can be distinguished from the *deterior* by a simple test: the better one will be spotted with gleaming gold. The other one will be "bristling with sloth" and fat, and his "people" will be equally inferior:

. . . ille horridus alter
desidia latamque trahens inglorius alvum.
ut binae regum facies, ita corpora plebis.
namque aliae turpes horrent . . . elucent aliae. (*G.* 4.93-8)

This leader should be mercilessly destroyed (*deterior qui visus, eum . . . dede neci. G.* 4.89-90). The *deterior* leader, with his lazy habits and fat body, is vaguely analogous to the human beings of the metallic golden age, described in the first *Georgic,* whom Jupiter would not tolerate under his rule:

nec torpere gravi passus sua regna veterno. (*G.* 1.124)

The inferior bees, moreover, are physically *decolor,* like the declining Latin farmers whom Evander describes as *deterior . . . ac decolor.*

The superior bees, on the other hand, might be seen as a tiny version of an agriculturally-oriented *gens aurea.* The farmer merely disposes of those who fall short of that denomination, just as the gods, in Hesiod's account, disposed of the metallic golden race. Vergil does not seem to envision Jupiter replacing a lazy generation

of mortals with one which was more energetic and dedicated, however, but instead to have forced the existing race to become as active and hard-working as these tiny bees.

Vergil's bees are thus superior craftsmen, who can work wax into honeycomb as skillfully as human artisans work bronze into life-like statues.[6] The coordination and distribution of their activities are as smoothly concerted as the hammerings and turnings on the Cyclopes' anvils, with the result that these tiny creatures fashion complex structures (*daedala fingere tecta*, *G.* 4.179) worthy of the great mythological craftsmen.

They are farmers, however, as well as craftsmen. They plan for the year ahead, as the farmer does, anticipating in particular the limitations and hardships of winter:

> venturaeque hiemis memores aestate laborem
> experiuntur. (*G.* 4.156-7)

Such foresight is quite necessary for the farmer, too:

> omnia quae multo ante memor provisa repones,
> si te digna manet divini gloria ruris. (*G.* 1.167-8)

The success of the efforts both of farmer and of bee is implied in the term, *gloria*. The farmer desires the "glory of the divine field" (*divini gloria ruris*, above), that is, of the crops which will grow as a result of his labors. The bee derives "glory" from producing honey (*generandi gloria mellis*, *G.* 4.205). Like tiny farmers, Vergil's bees work in the fields (*exercentur agris*, *G.* 4.159) and "harvest" flowers (*metunt flores*, *G.* 4.54). Both farmer and bee strive to achieve the greatest possible productivity from the fields. The Italian farmer is particularly blessed, for his herds reproduce themselves twice a year, and his trees bear fruit just as often:

> bis gravidae pecudes, bis pomis utilis arbos. (*G.* 2.150)

The bees, too, not only produce a new "crop" of honey twice a year, but also gather a new generation of bees just as often:

> bis gravidos cogunt fetus, duo tempora messis. (*G.* 4.231)

Just as the farmer begins his task in the springtime (*vere novo*, *G.* 1.43), moreover, so, too, do the bees initiate their activities in their own "springtime" (*vere suo*, *G.* 4.22). This is a crucial

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[6] Cf. *A*. 6.847: *excudent alii spirantia mollius aera.*

time for both farmer and bee, for at this time the farmer can join the bees' efforts to his own by luring them to the special setting he has prepared on his property:

> cum prima novi ducent examina reges
> vere suo, . . . vicina invitet decedere ripa calori,
> obviaque hospitiis teneat frondentibus arbos. (*G.* 4.21-4)

The bees and their product, of course, constitute a portion of the farmer's material wealth. Vergil does not hesitate to recognize his farmer's desire for material wealth; instead, he attributes the same desire to his bees. The immediate passion which drives the bees, says Vergil, is *amor habendi* (*G.* 4.177). In pursuit of this goal, they have been known to willingly lay down their very lives: "so great is their desire for flowers, and so great is the glory of generating honey" (*tantus amor florum et generandi gloria mellis, G.* 4.205). Vergil intentionally appeals to his reader's materialistic inclinations, as he explicitly indicates at the beginning of his instructions:

> illa seges demum votis respondet avari
> agricolae. . . .
> illius immensae ruperunt horrea messes. (*G.* 1.47-9)

Vergil's use of *avarus* has been a cause of consternation for his readers. Servius was so unsettled by it that he qualified it:

> AVARI: id est quamvis avari (*ad.* 1.47)

and the author of the spurious lines at the beginning of the *Aeneid* also qualified his description of Vergil's farmer as *avidus*:

> coegi / ut quamvis avido parerent arva colono. (*A.* 1.1b-c) [7]

Avarice, or greed, has negative connotations for Vergil's contemporaries, too. It is an insatiable passion, warns Horace: *Semper avarus eget* (*Ep.* 1.2.56). When Horace castigates the farmer's existence, *amor habendi* is singled out as one of the shortcomings of such a life: the farmer's life, he says, is one of hard work and growing old while preoccupied with acquiring wealth: *amore senescit habendi* (*Ep.* 1.7.85). The farmer in this *Epistle* is quite poor. When Ovid uses the same phrase, he emphasizes not the actual need of the farmer, but rather the negative effect on one's character of this concern with increasing one's wealth: *et dum possideant plurima,*

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[7] R. G. Austin, "*Ille ego qui quondam,*" *CQ* 18 (1968) 107-15, and T. E. V. Pearce, "A Note on *Ille ego qui quondam,*" *CQ* 20 (1970), 335-38.

plura petunt. (*F.* 1.212). The deterioration comes not from actual need, but from an insatiable desire for more.

Vergil seems to consider *avaritia* and *amor habendi* as potentially constructive forces, however. A basic principle in the *Georgics* is that one must attempt to understand the natural tendencies of things and creatures, and then to harness these tendencies to one's advantage. Thus, since the farmer is naturally *avarus* (1.47), Vergil initiates his instruction by promising that the farmer's granaries will be filled to overflowing if he will take the trouble to plough the field sufficiently before planting his crop (1.48-9). Every land has its own peculiarities, which must be understood so that the most appropriate crops can be planted there (1.51 ff.), and even the sea can be harnessed to benefit mortals. The Italian people have accomplished this last feat by constructing the Portus Julius and the associated canal and dam (*G.* 2.162-3).

While plants are motivated by *amor terrae* (*G.* 2.301), and horses by *amor laudum* (*G.* 3.112; 185-6), bees are motivated by *amor habendi, amor florum,* and *generandi gloria mellis.* By intelligently guiding these natural forces, the farmer will satisfy his own desires.[8]

Vergil's pragmatic attitude toward agriculture is quite consistent with the more traditional (non-poetic) Roman view. Cicero's Cato makes use of a metaphor wherein agriculture is said to be an investment, and the harvest a return on that investment:

> ⟨Agricolae⟩ habent rationem cum terra quae numquam recusat imperium, nec umquam sine usura reddit quod accepit, sed alias minore, plerumque maiore cum fenore. (Cic., *De Sen.* 51)

Horace and Ovid may criticize this very practical attitude,[9] and Vergil's later readers may shudder to see such an attitude in their poet, but Vergil does not scorn this all-too-human desire and need. He makes considerable use of the attitude that agriculture is an investment, and that it should be profitable. His references to "justice" in the second *Georgic,* for example, must be interpreted with reference to the metaphor of investment, such as Cicero's Cato expresses in the above passage. The earth is just because it repays, with ample interest, the farmer's investment of toil and of seed:

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[8] Vergil does not advocate overcoming these forces, however, and this may partly explain why Orpheus could not be allowed to succeed in his attempt to bring Eurydice back to life, for that would be contrary to nature, as was his struggle not to look back at her. cf. P. A. Johnston, "Eurydice and Proserpina in the *Georgics,*" *TAPA* 107 (1977) 161-172.

> O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint,
> agricolas! quibus ipsa procul discordibus armis
> fundit humo facilem victum iustissima tellus. . . .
> . . . extrema per illos
> Iustitia excedens terris vestigia fecit. (*G.* 2.458-74)

Vergil's bees are also "just" in this sense, for they repay the farmer's investment in them and their surroundings by extracting from those surroundings their precious product. Hesiod makes no reference in his account of the golden age to bees or honey. Hesiod's race of just men, however, enjoys the benefits of bees which gather in oak trees in the mountains (*Erga* 233). Justice is not a personified abstraction for them, as it is for Aratus' golden race and, to some extent, for Vergil's farmer at the close of the second *Georgic*. Instead, it is an innate part of the people.

At the close of the second *Georgic*, Justice is Aratus' personified abstraction who lingered last among farmers. She has left traces (*vestigia*) of herself among farmers. These *vestigia* are in the soil itself, the *iustissima tellus*, which the farmer tills.[10] The justice of the soil, in turn, becomes characteristic of the farmer's life, so that ultimately farmers constitute a race of just men. For them, as for Hesiod's race of just men, the earth bears abundant nourishment; they, too, are free from war and happy in their offspring. They, too, are occasionally blessed by a hive of bees which settles in a nearby oak tree:

> . . . nec non et apes examina condunt
> corticibusque cavis vitiosaeque ilicis alvo. (*G.* 2.452-3)

By the close of the fourth *Georgic*, however, Vergil's farmer, like Aristaeus, accedes to a higher stage of the agricultural art, a stage confirmed by his ability to raise bees at will rather than rely on a random hive settling in a hollow oak tree.

The uncultivated hive of bees in the "belly" of the hollow tree, on the one hand, corresponds to the more rudimentary stages of agriculture which have been dealt with by the end of the second *Georgic*. The sudden appearance of this hive, moreover, out of the *vitiosae ilicis alvo*, also anticipates the sudden appearance of a

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[9] Cf. also Horace's usurer, Alfius, *Epode* 2.

[10] W. Wili, *Vergil* (Munich, 1930), in his chapter, "Tellus Iustissima," 59-64, suggests that Vergil's golden age is a reflection of *Justitia*, which in turn becomes symbolic of the land itself in its function of giving the farmer a fair return.

new hive of bees for Aristaeus out of the "womb" of the rotting cattle-corpse in the fourth *Georgic*: [11]

hic vero subitum ac dictu mirabile monstrum
aspiciunt, liquefacta boum per viscera toto
stridere apes utero et ruptis effervere costis,
immensasque trahi nubes, iamque arbore summa
confluere et lentis uvam demittere ramis. (*G.* 4.554-8)

Here, as if to remind us of that earlier, uncultivated hive which appeared in the midst of the book about *Baccheia dona* (*G.* 2.454), the newly-cultivated hive assembles into the shape of a grape-cluster and suspends itself from the bending branch.[12]

An important aspect of the Bougonia of the fourth *Georgic* is the level of skill it represents. Aristaeus has specifically stated that apiculture is the epitome of his achievement as a farmer (*G.* 4.326-32). This particular method of obtaining a new hive, however, is new to him, and hence a further advance of his knowledge and skills. Jupiter's intent for mortals was, after all, not only the acquisition of existing skills and methods, but the development of new ones. Aristaeus' new method brings together elements which Vergil wishes to reconcile in his conception of a new, agriculturally-based golden age. While honey (after Hesiod) is linked with the metallic golden age, cattle must be linked with agriculture. In the Fourth *Eclogue*, the golden age ends when the ploughing-ox begins his task:

vestigia fraudis . . . quae iubeant telluri infindere sulcos.
(*Ec.* 4.31-3)

When the new golden age begins, the farmer will remove the yoke from the ploughing-ox:

robustus quoque iam tauris iuga solvet arator. (*Ec.* 4.41)

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[11] As C. Segal, "Orpheus and the Fourth *Georgic*," *AJP* 87 (1966), 307-25, observes, the bees spring *ab utero*, from the womb. In *A.* 6.706 ff., souls waiting to be reborn are compared to bees. For the prophetic dimension of the sudden appearances of bees, cf. J. H. Waszink, "Biene und Honig als Symbol des Dichters und der Dichtung in der griechisch-römischen Antike," *Rheinisch-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften* (1973) nr. G-196, pp. 26-28.

[12] Cf. *incultis . . . pendebit sentibus uva, Ec.* 4.29; cf. Pliny, *N.H.* 11.18.55: *ostenta faciunt privata ac publica uva dependente in domibus templisque*; Juv. 13.67-69: *tamquam . . . examen . . . apium longa consederit uva / culmine delubri.*

In Aratus' *Phaenomena,* the ploughing-ox works the soil during the golden age as the helpmate of Dikê. In the *Georgics,* too, the ploughing-ox is a constant helpmate of the farmer. The first thing the farmer does is, with the help of the ox, to cleave the soil with the plough:

> Vere novo . . . depresso incipiat iam tum mihi taurus aratro
> ingemere, et sulco attritus splendescere vomer. (*G.* 1.43-6)

The ploughing-ox assists the farmer as he doggedly pursues his task, and in the process they overturn the disasters of the past (*G.* 1.493 ff.). At the close of the second *Georgic,* Vergil refers to Aratus' account of the golden age, and in particular to the outrage perpetrated by mortals when they consumed the ploughing-ox (*G.* 2.537). The sense of brotherhood between farmer and ploughing-ox, finally, is most eloquently stated in the account of the death of the ploughing-ox in the third *Georgic*:

> . . . it tristis arator
> maerentem abiungens fraterna morte iuvencum,
> atque opere in medio defixa relinquit aratra. (*G.* 3.517-9)

The farmer seems to share the fraternal sorrow felt by the "brother" of the dying ox. The cattle which are sacrificed at the close of the fourth *Georgic* are specifically *not* those which have been used for ploughing (*cervice intacta, G.* 4.540, 551). Their agricultural connotation is nevertheless implicit. The combination of bee and cattle, the one growing out of the other, reflects Vergil's notion that a new golden age can be renewed through agriculture. The bee symbolizes the golden race, while cattle symbolize agriculture. Here the two have been symbolically joined. At the close of the poem, the new hive of bees suddenly emerges from the cattle and assembles into the shape of a grape-cluster. Why would Vergil want to remind us here of those earlier bees, which appeared so briefly in the second *Georgic?* Those bees were part of a more primitive, but nonetheless agricultural existence, the life once lived by *aureus Saturnus.* This highly symbolic act of the bees seems to suggest that, in some way, that earlier, idyllic life of the second *Georgic* can now be repeated, largely as a result of the information Vergil has revealed through this poem. The next golden age, however, will be more advanced technologically, for the farmer continues to benefit from the accumulated wisdom of his predecessors, who not only carry on

the tradition, but also develop new skills for posterity. Aristaeus' greatest advance is his discovery of a means of cultivating a new hive of bees. Agriculture, symbolized by cattle, will provide the economic basis out of which will grow a new, agriculturally-oriented, golden race.

CHAPTER SEVEN

ARISTAEUS THE FARMER VERSUS ORPHEUS THE NOMAD

I have tried to show how Vergil's conception of a golden age becomes, in the *Georgics*, an age based upon agriculture rather than an age marked by freedom from toil. This development can also be seen in the Aristaeus episode, where the figures of Aristaeus and Orpheus represent two very different life styles. Aristaeus, originally a herdsman,[1] is first referred to in the *Georgics* in that same capacity, as *cultor nemorum, cui pinguia Ceae / ter centum nivei tondent dumeta iuvenci* (*G.* 1.14-15). The first reference to him in the fourth *Georgic*, moreover, is as *pastor Aristaeus* (*G.* 4.317).

In the fourth *Georgic*, however, it soon becomes evident that he is no longer merely a shepherd, but an outstanding farmer as well. Unlike the shepherds of the *Eclogues*, to whom freedom from toil allows the leisure to cultivate their poetic muse and to strive even to contend with Orpheus (*Ec.* 8.56: *Sit Tityrus Orpheus, Orpheus in silvis*), Aristaeus in his role as farmer must find contentment in the fruits of his labors.[2]

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[1] "Comrade of the herds, hunter (*Agrea*) and herdsman (*Nomion*)," Pindar, *Pyth.* 9.65; cf. Ap. Rhod. 2.507. Callimachus calls him *Zeus Aristaios Ikmios* (*Aet.* 3.1.33), a reference to the rain which he summoned to Ceos (as in *G.* 1.14-15), thereby relieving the drought. He is also associated with the gift of honey (Ap. Rhod. 4.1131; Nonnus 19.225 ff.).

[2] Cf. L. P. Wilkinson, "Virgil's Theodicy," *CQ* n.s. 13 (1963) 73-84; R. R. Dyer, "Ambition in the *Georgics*: Vergil's rejection of Arcadia," *Auckland Classical Essays Presented to E. M. Blaiklock*, ed. B. F. Harris (Oxford 1970) 143-64; E. M. Stehle, "Virgil's *Georgics*: The Threat of Sloth," *TAPA* 104 (1974) 347-69. Agricultural activities appear in the *Eclogues* (e.g., 1.69 ff.; 5.79-80), but they are always on a very small scale, producing just enough for the livelihood of a single shepherd, with an occasional guest or two. As W. Berg, *Early Virgil* (London 1974) observes, however, a definite change of emphasis in Vergilian themes can be detected, for example, in the Ninth *Eclogue* (46-50) where Daphnis contemplates fields of grain and grapes reddening and is encouraged to begin agricultural activity (p. 137 ff.). I would not go so far as to call *Ec.* 4.28-30 a "Georgic" passage (p. 173), however, for there the context is more anti-"Georgic"; the fruits of the field will be enjoyed without agricultural toil. Leach also observes a changing attitude toward agriculture, from the bleak vision of the First *Eclogue* to the more positive attitude, as for example in *Ec.* 5.79-8, wherein Daphnis assumes a permanent role in agricultural life (Leach, *Vergil's Eclogues*, 78 ff., 114 ff.).

Orpheus, by contrast, remains the divine poet, the spell-binding musician, whose song is so powerful it can tame the wildest passions in man or beast.[3] Throughout the Orpheus section of the fourth *Georgic*, however, we are continually reminded that this gentle creature is a Thracian, and thus belongs to a *gens effrena* (*G*. 3.382), a society of nomadic tribesmen.[4] Like Catullus' race of heroes, this society pursues a mode of life antithetical to that of the farmer. While these people wander over the land, knowing no fixed territory, the farmer measures out his fields, assigning the most suitable crop to each piece of ground according to its peculiar characteristics. While the farmer patiently earns the rewards of his toil as the year rolls round, the nomad acquires the necessities of life through some combination (which varies from one nomadic group to another) of pasturage, war, and pillage. Not all nomads, to be sure, are warriors. Vergil seems to group them together, however, in opposition to the farmer. Thus in book three he names Libyan, and then more generally, African, shepherds, Roman soldiers, and Scythian and Thracian tribes in that order, as if they form a logical sequence (*G*. 3.339 ff.). Although varying degrees of instability are depicted here, all these groups experience a nomadic existence which contrasts with the settled life of the farmer. The Libyan shepherd wanders over broad, empty stretches of land, *sine ullis hospitiis* (*G*. 3.342-43). Like the Roman soldier, he carries his home (*tectumque laremque*, 344) as well as all his belongings with him.

The "stability" of the lives of Scythian and Thracian herdsmen, to the extent that it can be so identified, is purely a consequence of the extremely cold weather with which they are beset year round (*semper hiems, semper spirantes frigora Cauri*, *G*. 3.356). Despite the icy stiffness of all their activities, their lives are as uncivilized as that of the African herdsman or the Roman soldier. They live underground, like animals, wearing rough animal hides for clothing, a *gens effrena virum* (*G*. 3.382):

[3] Themistius, *Or*. 30.349b = Kern Test. 112. W. K. C. Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion* (New York, 2nd edn.) 41, connects Orpheus with the art of husbandry since his song tames beasts by softening their hearts.

[4] Thracian tribes did engage in a limited amount of agricultural activity, as even Vergil recognizes (*A*. 3.14), but the preponderant reputation of this people was that of an unruly, unpredictable, pugnacious people. Cf. R. F. Hoddinott, *Bulgaria in Antiquity*: *An Archaeological Introduction* (New York 1975) 24-32.

ipsi in defossis specubus secura sub alta
otia agunt terra, congestaque robora totasque
advolvere focis ulmos ignique dedere.
hic noctem ludo ducunt, et pocula laeti
fermento atque acidis imitantur vitea sorbis.
talis Hyperboreo Septem subiecta trioni
gens effrena virum Riphaeo tunditur Euro
et pecudum fulvis velatur corpora saetis. (*G.* 3.376-83)

One of the more appealing aspects of such a life would be the vast amount of time available to the individual, as opposed to the endless chores to which the farmer must attend. Vergil's shepherds in the *Eclogues* use their *otium* composing poetry. The reality is probably better conveyed by Herodotus, who tells us that nomadic tribesmen, and particularly Thracians, spent much of that free time engaging in warfare. "In their opinion," writes Herodotus of these people, "the best man is the idle man, and the sort least worthy of consideration is the agricultural laborer. The most reputable sources of income are war and plunder." [5]

Vergil, too, seems, in the *Georgics*, to recognize a connection between a nomadic/pastoral and a warlike existence. In the sequence cited above from the third *Georgic* (339 ff.), he draws our attention to the parallel between the life of the Roman soldier and that of the nomadic shepherd. The epilogue to the fourth book, albeit ironically, nonetheless echoes that juxtaposition, although there the two roles imply a more positive relationship between these modes of existence and that of the farmer. There Vergil represents himself as a pastoral poet *studiis florentem ignobilis oti*; his *otium* has also allowed him to write this "instructional" poem on farming, and thus has been beneficial to the farmer. Octavian, meanwhile, has been pursuing deeds of war, but these deeds were such as to make the world safe for the farmer to pursue his civilized mode of life (*G.* 4.559-66).

References to Octavian in the *Georgics* always refer either to his deification (1.25;503) or his warlike activities (1.504; 2.170; 3.16, 47, 48; 4.560). The latter activities, however, are always directed at subduing insurgency and establishing order. Consequently these

[5] Herod. 5.6; cf. 2.167, where craftsmen are also said to be held in low esteem by Thracians. For similar rejection of agriculture by the Germans, cf. J. Caesar, *B.G.* 6.22 ff. and Tac. *Germ.* 14. Recent excavations have in fact shown evidence of agriculture in Thrace in the 4th-3rd centuries B.C. (Hoddinott, 93 ff.), but of course the attitude toward such activity is the most important point here.

activities form the basis for deification. The purpose of Octavian's military activities is, for Vergil, to end the disruption brought about by forces of disorder, such as the soldier of the second *Georgic*, whose desire foi rich plunder makes him indifferent to the suffering he brings into the lives of others:

sollicitant alii remis freta caeca, ruuntque
in ferrum, penetrant aulas et limina regum;
hic petit excidiis urbem miserosque penatis,
ut gemma bibat et Sarrano dormiat ostro. (*G.* 2.503-6)

In an agricultural society, warfare represents a breakdown of the normal mode of life, a truism perhaps most graphically illustrated in the *Aeneid*, but also indicated in the contrast drawn throughout the *Georgics* between the farmer and the soldier, whose life retains a certain nomadic quality. Hence the praise which Vergil lavishes on Octavian in the *Georgics* is directed at the restoration of peace Octavian achieves through his military activities rather than for his military triumphs *per se*. The farmer participates in the restoration of peace and order, moreover, by developing the fields to wholesome levels of productivity. At the close of the first *Georgic*, for example, where Vergil dwells on the disasters of the civil wars which have shaken Rome for so long, the farmer suddenly appears, peacefully ploughing the very sites of Philippi and Pharsalia (489 ff.). His plough strikes the hollow helmets and rusted weapons, and, although he pauses to admire the heroes who have preceded him, he persists in his healing task.

At the close of the second *Georgic*, the farmer's contented existence is highlighted. Here the setting is a happy one, in contrast to the close of the first *Georgic*. A distinction is drawn between the self-sufficiency and contentment which the farmer experiences, on the one hand, and the dependence of his city-dwelling counterpart or the insatiable greed and instability of other modes of life. Among the modes of life contrasted with that of the farmer, the soldier's life is set in a particularly negative cast: he destroys the homes of others so that he may drink from jeweled goblets and sleep on Tyrian purple (*G.* 2.505-6). Closely affiliated with the mercenary soldier are those who engage in civil war: They lose their homes and homeland:

. . . gaudent perfusi sanguine fratrum,
exilioque domos et dulcia limina mutant
atque alio patriam quaerunt sub sole iacentem. (*G.* 2.510-12)

There is in both cases a rootlessness, like that of the Libyan shepherd and of the Roman soldier in the third *Georgic* (339 ff.), who carry their "homes" as well as all their belongings with them in their wanderings.[6]

As at the close of the first *Georgic*, these life-styles are set against the dominant backdrop of a sharply contrasting mode of life. Here, however, the backdrop consists of the abundance of blessings which the farmer enjoys, *procul discordibus armis* (459).[7] In addition to physical comforts, the farmer enjoys family, friends, and tradition, which is represented by libations and contests at regular harvest festivals (527-31).

The stability and security of the farmer's life serves as a contrasting backdrop to the ceaseless relocation of the warrior and the revolutionary:

> exilioque domos et dulcia limina mutant
> atque alio patriam quaerunt sub sole iacentem.
> agricola incurvo terram dimovit aratro:
> hinc anni labor, hinc patriam parvosque nepotes
> sustinet, hinc armenta boum meritosque iuvencos. (*G.* 2.511-15)

Instead of innocent contests between youths (531) or animals (526), they engage in life-and-death struggles, the soldier to destroy the cities and homes of others (505), the revolutionary to destroy his own kin (510). We might here consider Vergil's instructions in the fourth *Georgic*, when the bees—those miniature farmers—begin to lose interest in maintaining hive and offspring. The inevitable result of their loss of interest seems to be that they turn to military activities. Just after the "epic" battle between the rival "king" bees (67 ff.), Vergil advises:

> at cum incerta volant caeloque examina ludunt
> contemnuntque favos et frigida tecta relinquunt,
> instabilis animos ludo prohibebis inani.
> nec magnus prohibere labor: tu regibus alas
> eripe; non illis quisquam cunctantibus altum
> ire iter aut castris audebit vellere signa. (*G.* 4.103-8)

Neglect of hive—or neglect of farm and the home it sustains—leads to the adoption of a destructive mode of life, specifically to a warlike existence, the very mode of life which brought to an end the

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[6] Cf. Hor. *Od.* 2.16.18-19: *quid terras alio calentis / sole mutamus?*

[7] For the contrasting finales of the first and second *Georgics*, cf. B. Otis, *Virgil*, 168-69.

peaceful, agricultural life once enjoyed in Italy even by *aureus Saturnus* (*G.* 2.538).

Aristaeus himself is originally affiliated with a pastoral, and to that degree nomadic, life. His mother Cyrene was known primarily as a fierce shepherdess who wrestled with a lion.[8] He is known to Pindar, and later to Apollonius Rhodius, as a hunter and herdsman,[9] but he becomes a *deus*, in Vergil's account, because he has improved the quality of mortal life through his agricultural benefactions, which include *other* arts in addition to the cultivation and care of livestock:

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[8] The earliest extant description of Cyrene is found in Pindar *Pyth.* 9, where her tale is presented as the foundation legend of the Libyan city named after her. The scholion to *Pyth.* 9.6 indicates that Pindar's source was Hes. *Ehoiae.* Pindar says she was a shepherdess in Thessaly, "a wild maiden . . . who loved not the shuttling ways of the loom" (9.6-19), who preferred encountering wild beasts (21-22). One day, Apollo saw her wrestling with a lion, became enamoured of her, and carried her off to Libya, where she gave birth to Apollo's son, Aristaeus, and where the city was named after her. Ap. Rhod. (2.500-27) and Timaeus (Diod. Sic. 4.81-82) give similar accounts. a somewhat different version is found in Callimachus and in the historian Akesandros, both Cyrenaeans and thus both probably reflecting a local tradition (Malten, 41-62). Akesandros, quoted in the scholia to Ap. Rhod. 2.498, records that Cyrene was brought to Libya by Apollo at the time when Eurypylus was king of that land. A fierce lion had been devastating the countryside, and Eurypylus had offered his throne as a prize to the person who would kill the lion. Cyrene confronted the lion and won the throne. Phylarchus adds the detail that when she came to Libya, she was accompanied by many followers; her son Antouchos remained in Libya, while Aristaeus went to Ceos. In the *Hymn to Apollo,* Callim. refers to the version wherein she first comes to Libya and then kills the lion (2.85-96; cf. 3.206). Cyrene continues to be depicted as a lion-killer throughout the Greek and Roman period. A relief from the pediment of the Treasury of Cyrenaeans in Olympia (early 6th cent. B.C.) depicts a woman identified as Cyrene grasping the front paw of a lion (Paus. 6.19.10). There are also two Cyrenaean works from the Antonine period, one a relief, the other a statuette, which depict a woman holding a lion on her left side; the lion sits at rest on its hind legs, "like a tame poodle" (*RE*: 12:1:153). Attempts to relate her to Artemis and to representations of the Asiatic *potnia therôn* were rejected by L. Malten, *Kyrene* (1911), who argued that she was not a great nature goddess nor ancient Greek, but was rooted in the Libyan soil as the nymph of the river Cyre (Callim. 2.88) and as eponym of the city Cyrene. The Olympian fragment can be seen in G. Treu, *Die Bildwerke von Olympia in Stein und Thon* (Berlin 1897) Taf. IV. 18, pp. 19-20 (= vol. III of the series, *Olympia,* ed. E. Curtius and F. Adler). Cf. G. Pesce, *Enc. dell'arte antica,* s.v. "Cirene" (1959). Cyrene itself was joined with Crete in 74 B.C. to become a Roman province; it subsequently became a kingdom again and was given to Cleopatra Selene; finally, Augustus united Cyrene with Crete and made it a Roman province again. cf. A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Empire* (1937, 2nd ed. 1971) 349-62.

'en etiam hunc ipsum vitae mortalis honorem,
quem mihi vix frugum et pecudum custodia sollers
omnia temptanti extuderat, te matre relinquo.
quin age et ipsa manu felices erue silvas,
fer stabulis inimicum ignem atque interfice messes,
ure sata et validam in vites molire bipennem,
tanta meae si te ceperunt taedia laudis.' (*G.* 4.326-32)

Aristaeus' threat to destroy his agricultural accomplishments bears some analogy to the bees destroying their hive. His mother is upset by the threat at least in part because, if he should carry it out, he would also destroy the basis for his eventual deification. She therefore sends him to Proteus to learn the reason the bees have died. In his tale of Orpheus, Proteus compares Orpheus to a nightingale weeping for her young after the *durus arator* has taken them from their nest:

qualis populea maerens philomela sub umbra
amissos queritur fetus, quos durus arator
observans nido implumis detraxit. (*G.* 4.511-13)

The *durus arator* responsible for Orpheus' sorrow is, of course, Aristaeus. In this simile the *durus arator* is not criticized for removing the birds from their nest,[10] even though he causes the nightingale great sorrow, for he is performing a task necessary to the protection of his crops. The nightingale, on the other hand, has been deeply traumatized by the loss, and all of nature experiences her trauma.

Early in the *Georgics*, Vergil states that he will convey *praecepta* (*multa veterum praecepta, G.* 1.176) which will benefit the ambitious farmer. Aristaeus, when he has subdued Proteus, declares that his purpose in confronting the sea-god is to learn *deum praecepta* (*G.* 4.448). Proteus immediately responds to this request by telling Aristaeus about the death of Eurydice and its aftermath. Aristaeus is being punished by a very significant *numen,* he says, but he does not specify whether it is the offended *numen* of Orpheus, Eurydice, the Dryads, or perhaps some more general numinous force in nature.

Proteus is deliberately vague, it would appear, because he intends a more general precept which Eurydice and her experience symbolize. Eurydice is affiliated with woodland nymphs, who in turn

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[9] Cf. n. 1 above.

[10] C. Segal, "Orpheus and the Fourth *Georgic,*" *AJP* 87 (1966) 317, suggests that Orpheus has the point-of-view of nature, while Aristaeus has the point-of-view of man.

tended to be associated with those numinous spirits which were believed to inhabit trees or groves of trees. In the very nature of his activities, the farmer must inevitably harm some of these *numina* in order to cultivate the land and reap his crops. The story of Erysichthon in Callimachus' *Hymn to Demeter* is only one of many accounts of the punishment exacted from those who recklessly harm any of these *numina*. Evander (*A*. 8.351-52) refers to the belief that a god inhabits the forest which covers the site of the Roman Capitol, and Ovid, too, refers to the belief that a divine force inhabits groves of trees (*Fasti* 3.295-96).

In the nightingale simile, Aristaeus is compared to the *durus arator* who has harmed a significant element in nature, albeit in the course of his agricultural responsibilities. It is conceivable that Eurydice here, to some extent, symbolizes those numinous forces in nature which Aristaeus, *qua* farmer, will inevitably offend.[11] What Aristaeus specifically learns, from his mother rather than from Proteus, is the ritual whereby he may appease the offended *numina* and thus regain his hive. Vergil thus appears to draw a distinction between the more general message of Proteus' tale, which vividly illustrates what harm the farmer brings to the numinous forces in nature, and the particular solution, which Cyrene provides, to the current dilemma.[12]

Orpheus, on the other hand, tends to be associated with those very forces which the farmer must sometimes risk offending. His power over nature is proverbial: he can soothe the passions of wild beasts, still the winds, and even cause firmly-rooted trees to draw near to him.[13] His power lies in his music and poetry,[14] which enable him temporarily to overcome even the grim powers of the Underworld. Orpheus is also associated with nature, however, in his

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[11] D. Wender, "Resurrection in the Fourth *Georgic*," *AJP* 90 (1969) 431-32, suggests that Aristaeus' *magna commissa* may be the repeated violations of nature. cf. Cato, *de Agric*. 132-39: appeasement rituals are necessary before sowing, before harvest, and before clearing a grove.

[12] The presence of two narrations, by Proteus and then by Cyrene, when either figure could have conveyed both the story of Orpheus and instructions on the ritual, has bothered critics, and has sometimes been cited as evidence that this section was a later addition. See the discussion in Wilkinson, *Georgics* 112 ff.

[13] E.g., Verg. *Ec*. 3.46; 6.30; Hor. *Odes* 1.12.8-12; Prop. 3.2.3; 2.13.6; Ovid *Am*. 3.9.21; *A.A*. 3.321.

[14] E.g., Verg. *Ec*. 4.55; 8.55; *A*. 6.119; Prop. 3.2.3; 1.3.42; Ov. *Am*. 3.9.21-22; cf. Coleman, 115.

nomadic mode of life, a fact which tends to be overshadowed by the beauty of his song and by the tragedy of his tale.

Although Vergil admittedly dwells on the latter aspects of Orpheus, however, he nonetheless persistently reminds us of Orpheus' Thracian affiliation: Vergil thus seems to envision Orpheus, like his fellow-Thracians, as a "noble savage." [15] In the Fourth *Eclogue*, he is called *Thracius Orpheus* (4.55). In the *Aeneid*, he plays his Thracian lyre (*Orpheus, Threicia fretus cithara*, 6.119-20) for the *magnanimi heroes* (6.649) in Elysium, and is referred to as *Thracius sacerdos* (6.645).

In the fourth *Georgic*, Vergil never calls Orpheus or his lyre Thracian. Instead, the affiliation is repeatedly alluded to by numerous geographical and mythical references to Thrace. Proteus, for example, elaborates the sorrow of Eurydice's companions and then provides a list of places where her loss was mourned:

> flerunt Rhodopeiae arces
> altaque Pangaea et Rhesi Mavortia tellus
> atque Getae atque Hebrus et Actias Orithyia. (*G.* 4.461-63)

The places named are either Thracian or have some kind of relationship to Thrace. The reference to the Rhodopeian mountains and lofty Pangaion direct our thoughts toward the lower boundary of Thrace, while the reference to the tribe of the Getae takes us to the upper boundary, where the Getae inhabited both sides of the lower Danube to the south and east of the Carpathians. *Mavortia tellus* underscores the martial orientation of the people in this land.[16] The reference to King Rhesus, as Servius (*ad loc.*) observes, is proleptic, since Orpheus lived before the time of this Thracian king, the ally of Priam, who fell at Troy.[17] Hebrus is both the river flowing from the Rhodopeian mountains and also the brother of

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[15] Cf. Hor. *Odes* 1.24.13: *Threicio Orpheo*; Ovid. *M.* 10.2: *Threicius vates*; 10.11: *Rhodopeius vates*; 10.50: *Rhodopeius Orpheus*. Lovejoy (287 ff.) describes Vergil's Scythians and Thracians as Noble Savages. Hoddinott (p. 26) shows that the Greeks much preferred the Scythians to the Thracians, who not only posed a greater threat to the Greeks by their greater proximity, but also were a less attractive commercial proposition. Herodotus calls them the most numerous peoples after the Indians, and says they would be the most powerful people on earth if they could be united into a whole; they are weak, he concludes, because of their chronic inability to be unified (5.3).

[16] Cf. *A.* 3.14-15: *terra procul vastis colitur Mavortia campis* / (*Thraces arant*).

[17] Cf. *Iliad* 10.435 ff.; [Eurip.] *Rhesus*; Verg. *A.* 1.469 ff.

Orpheus.[18] *Actias Orithyia* includes Athens in the list of places mourning Eurydice's death, but with particular reference to the story of Orithyia, the Athenian maiden who was carried off by Thracian Boreas.[19]

Proteus' emphasis on the geographical setting of the story is not limited to these lines. After Orpheus fails to retrieve Eurydice, we are again reminded of the geographical setting as he wanders through Thrace, from the Strymon (508) to Scythia and the river Don (*Tanais*), to the mythical Hyperborea and to the Rhiphaean mountains, before wandering back to Thrace, to the river Hebrus (523), where he has his fatal encounter with the Thracian women (*Cicones*).

By depicting Orpheus' sorrow in this geographical manner, Vergil reminds us of the nomadic quality of Orpheus' mode of life. Whereas the bee or the farmer respond to their sorrow by destroying (or at least considering the destruction of) the secure existence they have established, Orpheus' response is to go somewhere, anywhere, in the attempt to assuage his grief:

> quid faceret? quo se rapta bis coniuge ferret? (*G.* 4.504)

When he first lost Eurydice, he went to the underworld and retrieved her. Now that he has lost her irrevocably for the second time, he responds to his sorrow by wandering for many months through the wilds of Thrace and Scythia:

> solus Hyperboreas glacies Tanaimque nivalem
> arvaque Riphaeis numquam viduata pruinis
> lustrabat, raptam Eurydicen atque inrita Ditis
> querens. (*G.*4.517-20)

His longing for solitude is psychologically realistic. It is also consistent, however, with the solitary life Vergil attributes to the nomadic shepherd and the Roman warrior in the third *Georgic.*

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[18] Servius *ad G.* 4.525: *Oeagrius fluvius est, pater Orphei, de quo Hebrus nascitur, unde eum appellavit Oeagrium.*

[19] Plato, *Phaedr.* 229c-d. Note that Orithyia, like Eurydice, was wandering beside a stream at the time of her abduction. Cf. Verg. *A.* 10.350: *tris quoque Threicios Boreae de gente suprema*; Cic. *Leg.* 1.3; Prop. 2.26.51; 3.7.13; Ovid *M.* 6.683; Sil. 8.514; Hoddinott, p. 44 Plate 18. A. M. Crabbe, "Catullus 64 and the Fourth *Georgic,*" *CQ* 71 (1977) 349 ff. compares the prominence of water in both epyllia, as part of a more general thesis that Vergil has Cat. 64 in mind when he writes the Aristaeus-Orpheus episode; the water imagery in both authors is one of the more persuasive analogies in this article.

In the sixth *Aeneid*, Orpheus again appears in a nomadic setting. He is in Elysium, in the company of great warriors of the past (*magnanimi heroes nati melioribus annis*, *A*. 6.649).[20] These noble heroes continue peaceful versions of the essentially military activities they pursued in life. Their arms and chariots, no longer in use, stand near, perhaps as reminders of their former deeds of valour. Orpheus, meanwhile, serves as bard to these heroes (*A*. 6.645-47), just as he did for his fellow Thracians when he was alive.[21]

Here his art serves only those who have earned the privilege of hearing him:

> hic manus ob patriam pugnando vulnera passi,
> quique sacerdotes casti, dum vita manebat,
> quique pii vates et Phoebe digna locuti,
> inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artis
> quique sui memores aliquos fecere merendo. (*A*. 6.660-64)[22]

One of the privileges, finally, enjoyed by these inhabitants of Elysium is a quasi-nomadic existence:

> nulli certa domus; lucis habitamus opacis. (*A*. 6.673)

In the underworld, of course, a nomadic existence poses no threat. These heroes can enjoy the blessings of the leisurely, metallic golden age, since there is no need to prepare food or shelter there. Vergil is not unaware of the inherent appeal of a nomadic existence, despite the harsh realities which he depicts in some detail in the third *Georgic*, for example in his description of the Libyan shepherd and the Roman soldier, who wander *in deserta sine ullis / hospitiis* (*G*. 3.342-43). In the sixth *Aeneid*, he acknowledges the appeal of

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[20] Cf. *G*. 4.475-76, where Orpheus' audience in the Underworld includes *defunctaque corpora vita / magnanimum heroum*. Vergil's Elysium is the equivalent of Hesiod's Isles of the Blessed; cf. Gatz, 179. Hoddinott, 32, observes, "an unquestionably, essentially Thracian religious figure is the Thracian Horseman or Hero, who first appeared in the Hellenistic period in the conventional iconography of a horseman riding slowly towards a goddess, and reappeared in the Roman period. . . . Association of the Thracian concept of immortality with the Thracian as well as Greek concept of heroisation is supported by the most common inscription: 'Hero'."

[21] Herod. 5.6 reports that the Thracians consider death a happy event, whereas they mourn at the birth of a child.

[22] While Vergil does not minimize the glory of dying for one's country, he prefers to relegate the necessity for that sacrifice to the past. Cf. *Ec*. 4.27, where the child will learn *quae sit . . . virtus* by reading about it; cf. also the respect and admiration which the farmer shows for the heroes of the past (*G*. 1.497), while not attempting to perpetuate those activities.

such an existence by rewarding even benefactors of civilization with assignment to an heroic/quasi-nomadic existence in the underworld. Horace, too, conveys an appealing aspect of the nomadic existence associated with Thrace in the opening lines of the twelfth ode of his fourth book: [23]

Iam veris comites, quae mare temperant,
Impellunt animae lintea Thraciae;
Iam nec prata rigent nec fluvii strepunt
  Hiberna nive turgidi. (*Od.* 4.12.1-4)

Thracian breezes, elsewhere referred to because of their ferocity,[24] here become *veris comites*, Spring's attendants. They calm the sea and swell the ships' sails, inducing a desire to travel. All of nature is set in motion by the Spring thaw. As Commager observes, however, *animae* may also foreshadow the events which follow in the second stanza, the savage story of Tereus and Philomela: [25]

Nidum ponit, Ityn flebiliter gemens
Infelix avis et Cecropiae domus
Aeternum opprobrium, quod male barbaras
  Regumst ulta libidines. (*Od.* 4.12.5-8)

The transition from Thrace to this myth is a logical one, for the tale of Tereus and Philomela, which Leach aptly calls "the most extreme example of human crime," [26] was traditionally set in Thrace. Tereus' crime was particularly horrendous because it involved the violation of a person entrusted to his protection. Philomela and Procne also were guilty of an horrendous crime,

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[23] Cf. Horace's description of the Scythes (as *profugi*) whom Vergil juxtaposes in the third *Georgic* (349 ff.) with the Thracians because of the similarities of their life styles: *Odes* 1.35.9: *profugi Scythae*; 3.24.9-10: *campestres melius Scythae, / quorum plaustra vagas rite trahunt domos*; 4.14.42: *profugus Scythes*.

[24] E.g. *Odes* 1.25.11-12: *Thracio bacchante magis sub interlunia vento*; *Epode* 13.2-3: *nunc mare, nunc silvae / Threicio Aquilone sonant*. *Ode* 4.12 is addressed to "Vergil"; whether this refers to the poet has long been a matter of debate. E. Fraenkel, *Horace* (Oxford 1957) 418, believed that Horace's address to Vergil as *iuvenum nobilium cliens*, and the ascription to Vergil of *studium lucri* in a poem published several years after Vergil's death would have been exceedingly tactless. But cf. L. A. Moritz, "Horace's Virgil," *PVS* 8 (1968-9) 13-14, who believes the poet was the addressee, and this was Horace's final farewell to the poet.

[25] Commager, 276 n. 35; Prop. 3.10.10; Ovid *M.* 6.424 ff.; cf. Hor. *Odes* 1.37.16-20.

[26] Leach, *Vergil's Eclogues*, 24 (re: *Ec.* 6.78-81).

in that they murdered an innocent child who trusted them. Another savage tale concerning Thracians is told at the beginning of the third *Aeneid*, when Aeneas and his men learn the fate of Priam's son, Polydorus. The young Polydorus had been entrusted to the protection of Lycurgus, a Thracian ally of Priam, along with a large sum of gold. Lycurgus had cared for the child as long as Trojan fortune was good (*hospitium antiquum Troiae sociique penates / dum fortuna fuit, A.* 3.15-16). When Troy fell, however, Lycurgus murdered the child and kept the gold. Lycurgus' crime was equal to the collective crimes of Tereus, Philomela, and Procne, for he had both violated the laws of hospitality and murdered the child entrusted to him, all because of his thirst for gold. "*Heu fuge crudelis terras, fuge litus avarum,*" cries Polydorus from his grave (*A.* 3.44).

Vergil's references to Thrace persistently reflect the reputation known to Herodotus. In the third *Georgic*, he calls them a *gens effrena* (*G.* 3.582), and his references to them in the *Aeneid* reflect, in one way or another, their warlike orientation. Turnus, for example, rides a Thracian steed (*Thracius equus, A.* 9.49; cf. 5.565). The second prize in one of the contests at Anchises' funeral games is an Amazonian quiver with Thracian arrows (*A.* 5.311-12). Among the prized possessions of these nomadic warriors were elaborate, funnel-shaped drinking cups (*rhyta*), sometimes modeled after the head or torso of an animal or human being, frequently with mythological events depicted over the surface of the vessel.[27] The cups were made of gold or silver, or some combination of these precious metals, and clearly were prized possessions. Perhaps the cup which Aeneas awards to Acestes may have been one of these precious *rhyta*:

> ipsius Anchisae longaevi hoc munus habebis,
> cratera impressum signis, quem Thracius olim
> Anchisae genitori in magno munere Cisseus
> ferre sui dederat monimentum et pignus amoris. (*A.* 5.535-38)

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[27] Compare the *rhyta* recently exhibited at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and in the catalogs published by The Metropolitan Museum of Art and The Committee for Art and Culture of The People's Republic of Bulgaria, *Thracian Treasures from Bulgaria,* 1977. We might also recall Alcimedon's *pocula,* one of which depicts Orpheus and his power over nature (*Orpheaque in medio posuit silvasque sequentis, Ec.* 3.46) as well as the jeweled cup from which the marauding Roman soldier longs to drink (*ut gemma bibat, G.* 2.506).

The frequent allusions to Orpheus' Thracian ties suggest that Vergil intended that we recognize some sort of connection between Orpheus and this unruly people. The nightingale simile again supports this supposition, for there Orpheus is compared to Philomela, the victim of the Thracian king, Tereus. An allusion to the myth of Procne and Philomela occurs one other time in the fourth *Georgic*, at the beginning of the book. There, however, the situation is quite different, for the birds threaten the survival of the bees:

absint et picti squalentia terga lacerti
pinguibus a stabulis, meropesque aliaeque volucres
et manibus Procne pectus signata cruentis;
omnia nam late vastant ipsasque volantis
ore ferunt dulcem nidis immitibus escam. (*G.* 4.13-17)

As Segal observes, birds are prominent in the Orpheus passage, first in connection with the change from winter's barrenness to spring's richness (306-307), then in the bird simile at the beginning of Orpheus' descent to Hades (473-474), and finally in the nightingale simile.[28] These delicate, musical creatures, however, also have a savage side which is particularly fearsome to the bees and therefore to their protector, the *durus arator.* In the myth itself, Procne inflicts violence upon her son in anger at the violence inflicted upon Philomela. The violence of the myth stands in opposition to the beauty of the nightingale's song. So, too, the violence which Orpheus experiences clashes with the gentle beauty of his song. The contradictory extremes of beauty and disastrous violence are consonant with the Thracian society to which both tales belong.

No matter how great the beauty of Orpheus' song, his existence and happiness are tenuous at best. An agricultural society, by contrast, can achieve greater stability and security, and thus become the stronger of the two societies, overshadowing its counterpart and even replacing it. The structure of the fourth *Georgic*, with the tale of Aristaeus and his eventual success enclosing that of Orpheus and his failure, also reflects this basic dichotomy between Aristaeus and Orpheus.[29] Orpheus is finally killed by Thracian women because

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[28] Segal, 317 n. 12.

[29] For the contrast between the frame (Aristaeus) and the enclosed story, and the analogy of this structure to the structure of Catullus 64, cf. E. Paratore, *Introduzione alle Georgiche di Virgilio* (Palermo 1938), 25, and A. M. Crabbe, "*Ignoscenda Quidem* . . . Catullus 64 and the Fourth *Georgic*," *CQ* 71 (1977), 342. M. Detienne, "Orphée au Miel," 19 ff., draws a contrast between the gentleness of Orpheus and the savagery of Orion, with Aristaeus

of his refusal to remarry. His hopeless, romantic love for Eurydice precludes any concern for posterity. The farmer, by contrast, counts home and family as a major part of his blessings:

> interea dulces pendent circum oscula nati,
> casta pudicitiam servat domus, (*G.* 2.523-24)

and he finds contentment in the knowledge that he is building a secure future for them and for his descendants:

> hinc anni labor, hinc patriam parvosque nepotes
> sustinet, hinc armenta boum meritosque iuvencos. (*G.* 2.514-515) [30]

One of the first details we learn about Aristaeus in the Fourth *Georgic* is the name of his parents; his mother is Cyrene (*G.* 4.321) and his father is *Thymbraeus Apollo* (*G.* 4.323). In the catalog of nymphs surrounding Cyrene, we also find at least one allusion to Aristaeus' descendants. This lengthy list might be seen as counterbalancing the list of Thracian names in the Orpheus section. The Thracian names, most of which are geographical, reflect an erratic pattern of movement over the land. First sorrow spreads over the Thracian landscape and even beyond it, and then Orpheus himself erratically wanders over the landscape in his sorrow. The topographical progression of place-names in both these cases reflects a nomad's mode of existence, a pattern which Orpheus and his fellow-heroes are permitted to continue in the underworld in the Sixth *Aeneid*. The catalog of nymphs, by contrast, contains genealogical rather than topographical allusions. These genealogical allusions, moreover, are in a distinctly domesticated setting.

> At mater sonitum thalamo sub fluminis alti
> sensit. eam circum Milesia vellera Nymphae
> carpebant hyali saturo fucata colore,
> Drymoque Xanthoque Ligeaque Phyllodoceque,
> caesariem effusae nitidam per candida colla,
> [Nisaee Spioque Thaliaque Cymodoceque,]
> Cydippeque et flava Lycorias, altera virgo,
> altera tum primos Lucinae experta labores,
> Clioque et Beroe soror, Oceanitides ambae,
> ambae auro, pictis incinctae pellibus ambae,

---

midway between them. A more appropriate structural contrast to Orpheus, however, would appear to be Orpheus' fellow-Thracians.

[30] Vergil's bees draw equal satisfaction from a similar assurance: *at genus immortale manet multosque per annos / stat fortuna domus et avi numerantur avorum* (*G.* 4.208-209).

atque Ephyre atque Opis et Asia Deiopea
et tandem positis velox Arethusa sagittis.
inter quas curam Clymene narrabat inanem
Volcani, Martisque dolos et dulcia furta,
aque Chao densos divum numerabat amores. (*G.* 4.333-347) [31]

The catalog begins with Aristaeus' mother, Cyrene (*at mater,* 333), and closes with another prominent mother, Clymene (345), with the result that two mothers of important benefactors of the human race enclose this catalog. At the center of the passage, moreover, we find a new mother, Lycorias, who is paired with the *virgo* Cydippe (339). Cydippe has genealogical significance for Aristaeus and Cyrene, for this is the name of the girl who marries Acontius, who is descended from "priests of Zeus Aristaeus." [32]

The story of Acontius and Cydippe is found in Callimachus' *Aetia* (frgs. 67-75). According to Callimachus, Cydippe was a high-born Athenian maiden with whom the youth Acontius fell in love. He inscribed an apple with the words "I promise to marry Acontius," and threw it in her path. She picked up the apple and read the words aloud, thereby inadvertently binding herself to the youth. She attempted to ignore the oath, but whenever her father attempted to marry her to another she became violently ill. Her father therefore consulted the oracle at Delphi, who revealed not only her commitment to Acontius but also the youth's ancestry from priests of Zeus Aristaeus.[33] While the actual blood relationship between Acontius and Aristaeus is questionable, his affiliation to Aristaeus is nonetheless an exceedingly important heritage which makes him a desirable husband for Cydippe. "In the person of Acontius you will not be mingling lead with silver, but electrum with shining gold" (*Aetia* 75.30-31), advises the oracle.

In the catalog of nymphs surrounding Cyrene, Cydippe is still a *virgo,* as in Callimachus' account and in subsequent versions of this story. This is a conspicuous detail in the catalog, placed as it is

[31] Line 338 is generally believed to be spurious, but is nonetheless part of the received text.

[32] Callim. *Aetia* 75.32-34; cf. Ovid *Her.* 20 and 21; Aristaenetus *Ep.* 1.10; F. Cairns, "Propertius I. 18 and Callimachus, Acontius and Cydippe," *CR* 83 (1969) 131-134, and D. O. Ross, Jr., *Backgrounds to Augustan Poetry: Gallus, Elegy and Rome* (London 1975), 72.

[33] For the echo of this tale in Catullus 65, cf. W. Kroll, *Catull* (Stuttgart 1923, 3rd edn. 1959) 198-9; L. W. Daly, "Callimachus and Catullus," *CP* 47 (1952) 97-99; W. Clausen, "Catullus and Callimachus," *HSCP* 74 (1970) 85-94.

at the center of the list and balanced by the motherhood of Lycorias,[34] and may in fact be intended as another reminder that Aristaeus has not yet become a god. His destiny, as well as the destiny of his descendants is yet to be fulfilled.

The relationship between Cyrene and Cydippe has a rough parallel in the relationship between Clymene and Ephyre (343), who was either Clymene's daughter-in-law (Paus. 2.1.1) or granddaughter (Schol. Ap. Rhod. 4.1212). Clymene, like Cyrene, is the mother of an important benefactor of the human race, Prometheus. She is also the mother of Epimetheus (to whom Ephyre is related), who was one of mankind's great mischiefmakers in that he "foolishly" accepted Zeus' gift, the first woman (Hes. *Erga* 83 ff.; *Theog.* 511-514). Just as Epimetheus' deed brought, according to Hesiod, disaster upon the race of men, so Aristaeus' pursuit of Eurydice threatens to result in disaster for mankind as well as for Aristaeus himself, if he should now carry out his threat to undo his agricultural accomplishments. Clymene, as the mother of both the beneficent Prometheus and the maleficent Epimetheus, suggests the two extreme roles by which Cyrene's son might one day be known, depending upon his present reaction to his lost hive.

Clymene's song in this episode is about the love affairs of the gods, rather than their offspring, but the final detail of this song (*aque Chao densos divum numerabat amores*, 347) also suggests the growing population [35] descended from these amours. She begins with Chaos, the beginning of the world, and recounts the *densos amores* of the gods, as Hesiod did in the *Theogony*. Hesiod there records *densos divum amores* in order to show the genealogy of the gods and to account for their growing numbers. He also sings of the union of gods and mortals and their godlike offspring (*Theog.* 963 ff.), which include Autonoë "whom long-haired Aristaeus wedded" (977). It is a topic of enormous fascination to these nymphs, and

[34] Wilkinson, *Georgics*, 215, unjustifiably rejects the possibility of any symbolic significance between Lycorias' motherhood and Cydippe's virginity, for he fails to recognize the relationship between Cydippe and Aristaeus. We might consider this catalog as an early form of Vergil's later account of Aeneas' trip to the underworld, where Aeneas also sees both his parent and his future descendants.

[35] Since Clymene is also the grandmother of Deucalion and Pyrrha, the topic is peculiarly appropriate for her. Note that earlier references in the *Georgics* were to the post-diluvium creation (*G.* 1.61-63; 2.238-242). The great flood would not be so significant an event for sea-dwelling creatures, however.

especially to Cyrene, who is so distracted by the song that she fails at first to hear Aristaeus' cries.[36]

Cyrene's fascination with the song is in keeping with a generally domestic emphasis in this passage. Cyrene herself is traditionally known as a fierce shepherdess and lion-killer. She is described in the Ninth *Pythian Ode*, where her story is told at some length, as one who "loved not the shuttling ways of the loom nor the joy of meals with her female housemates" (*Pyth.* 9.18-19). Subsequent representations of Cyrene in literature and in art, even under the Empire, are always in this context.[37] Here, however, she contentedly pursues a domestic existence, particularly indicated by the companionship of her sister-nymphs working at the loom (334-335). Clio and Beroë still wear their huntress outfits (341-342), perhaps indicating that they have not yet been completely domesticated despite their inclusion in this gathering.[38] Arethusa's domestication, on the other hand, is suggested by the statement that she has already laid aside her arrows (*positis sagittis*, 344). In this passage, then, the roles of huntress and mother have for the most part been reconciled, with the former subordinated to the latter. The domestication of these huntresses is consistent with the eventual reconciliation between Aristaeus and Orpheus, and between the modes of life each one represents: the nomad will be appeased, but his mode of life must give way to the secure world of the farmer. This "reconciliation", unfortunately, involves a great deal of violence and suffering. Eurydice was an innocent victim of Aristaeus' own failure to withstand a momentary passion. Orpheus' failure to come to terms with his sorrow [39] is another case of indulgence leading to instability in society. This is a particularly desperate concern for Thracian *matres*, since they alone in their society bear sufficient concern for posterity. In an agricultural society, by contrast, the future of the race is a major concern for all.

When Aristaeus expresses a "complaint" at his loss (*multa querens*, *G.* 4.320), there is a concerned response among Cyrene's

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[36] As Klingner, *Vergils Bucolica*, 201 ff., observes, she is far less receptive to her son's sorrow than is her Homeric antecedent, Thetis, to Achilles' sorrow.

[37] Cf. n. 8 (p. 111).

[38] Beroë, it might be noted is the name of a Thracian population center, later known as Augusta-Trajana. Cf. Hoddinott, 104 ff. and 199 ff.

[39] Cf. C. Segal, "Orpheus and the Fourth *Georgic*," *AJP* 87 (1966) 307-325, and Johnston, *TAPA* 107 (1977) 161-72.

companions, and finally by Cyrene herself, who leads her son to a solution. An established order and system of rituals exists within her *umida regna* (*G.* 4.363) whereby problems can be solved. Orpheus, on the other hand, has no recourse for his sorrow within the bounds of his society or mode of life. After wandering helplessly for many months, expressing his "complaint" (*inrita Ditis / dona querens, G.* 4.519-20), he, too, encounters the women of his society, who destroy rather than help him (*G.* 4.520-22). Orpheus, too, moreover, has a river-parent, but unlike Cyrene, Hebrus can do nothing but carry away the remains of his son:

> tum quoque marmorea caput a cervice revulsum
> gurgite cum medio portans Oeagrius Hebrus
> volveret, Eurydicen vox ipsa et frigida lingua,
> a miseram Eurydicen! anima fugiente vocabat:
> Eurydicen toto referebant flumine ripae. (*G.* 4.523-27)

Aristaeus thus represents the farmer's secure mode of life, as opposed to the primarily nomadic/pastoral life of Orpheus and his people, and indeed of Aristaeus' own heritage. As the ideal farmer, Aristaeus still raises livestock, but now this activity is only a part of his total responsibilities. The purely pastoral mode of existence has given way to a more varied life for him. He now assumes longer-term responsibilities than a pastoral way of life would require, and therefore serves as a model for other farmers, in whom, in turn, lies the hope that a new, agricultural golden age will eventually be realized.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION: THE HEALING ART OF APOLLO

Ultima Cumaei venit iam carminis aetas;
magnus ab integro saeclorum nascitur ordo.
iam redit et virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna,
iam nova progenies caelo demittitur alto.
tu modo nascenti puero, quo ferrea primum
desinet ac toto surget gens aurea mundo,
casta fave Lucina: tuus iam regnat Apollo. (*Ec.* 4.4-10)

What finally becomes of Vergil's youthful optimism? Does the harsh experience of subsequent, continued years of civil war lead him to despair? Does the disillusionment which inevitably comes to one too close to the politically powerful destroy his optimistic paradigm for the future? Or does he adjust his vision to accommodate the limitations inevitably imposed upon human society? The answer, as I have tried to show, seems to lie somewhere toward the latter view. His vision is not lost, but modified.

This modification becomes most visible in Vergil's use of mythological figures, such as Saturnus and Aristaeus. Vergil never contradicts himself in his allusions to mythological figures. Rather, these figures develop wholly new significance as Vergil enlarges upon their affiliation with the golden age. As he enlarges upon that relationship, moreover, a new conception of the age itself develops.

Further evidence of this modification can be found in Vergil's treatment of Apollo and of that god's relationship to the golden age. Apollo, as is widely recognized, is not usually associated with the golden age. Yet he is the last-named indicator of the golden age in the above passage. Rhetorically, therefore, he would appear to have special significance for Vergil's prophecy in this *Eclogue.* The significance of the indicators preceding Apollo have long ago been identified. The *ultima aetas* of the Cumaean song refers to an optimistic prophecy of the Cumaean Sibyl. The return of *Virgo* (Aratus' Dikê) and of *Saturnia regna* are clear references to the "metallic" golden age, and *nova progenies* refers to the golden race of mortals who lived during that period. The birth of a miraculous

child, finally, is an apocalyptic symbol in Near Eastern and Judaic religion.[1]

The reason for Apollo's presence here, on the other hand, has never been fully explained.[2] He is of course significant as god of song, as indeed is evident at the close of this *Eclogue*, where Vergil reveals his aspiration to contend in song with Apollo's son Linus (*Ec.* 4.55-57). Apollo's role as the god of prophecy is also clearly relevant to this prophetic poem. His role here has frequently been associated, moreover, with Octavian's predilection for this god, since Apollo's temple was near the site of the Battle of Actium.[3] This last association, however, is highly questionable in the context of the Fourth *Eclogue*, for if Vergil were implying that Apollo *qua* Octavian would now rule, he would be undermining the very unity promised by the treaty which he celebrates in this poem.[4]

Another possible explanation for Apollo's presence in the prophecy, which critics have thus far tended to overlook, can be found in Hesiod's *Theogony*. Hesiod, recounting the children of Tethys and Ocean, introduces the names of their daughters as follows:

> Τίκτε δὲ θυγατέρων ἱερὸν γένος, αἳ κατὰ γαῖαν
> ἄνδρας κουρίζουσι σὺν Ἀπόλλωνι ἄνακτι
> καὶ Ποταμοῖς, ταύτην δὲ Διὸς πάρα μοῖραν ἔχουσι.
> (*Theog.* 346-348)

River-nymphs, along with their brother-rivers and also with Apollo-*anax*, share the responsibility for nurturing newly-born children. When a young man came of age, we know that he cut his hair (κουρά) and dedicated it to the local river or river-nymphs in thanks for having been successfully nurtured.[5]

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[1] Macrob. *Sat.* 1.18.10; Isaiah 7.14; 9.6-7; cf. E. Norden, *Die Geburt des Kindes*; G. Jachmann, "Die vierte Ekloge Vergils;" G. Williams, "Vergil's Fourth *Eclogue*," and most recently R. Coleman, *Vergil*: *Eclogues*, 132-133, among others, for discussion and additional references.

[2] Servius Danielis quotes Nigidius Figulus' account of the Orphic doctrine of world ages, explaining that Apollo rules over an age which includes a coming conflagration (Serv. *ad Ec.* 4.10). Büchner's conclusion (p. 188) "Dann aber gehört auch die Vorstellung von Apollo als Regenten der goldenen Zeit zu den unbelegten," reflects the uncertainty, however, regarding Apollo's role in Vergil's golden age.

[3] Cf. *Aen.* 3.275. Augustus vowed a temple to Apollo, however, in 36 B.C., at the time Vergil was composing the *Georgics*.

[4] Cf. Büchner, 188. L. Berkowitz, "Pollio and the Date of the Fourth *Eclogue*," *CSCA* 5 (1972), 21-38, rejects the Brundisium alliance as the occasion motivating this poem.

[5] M. L. West, *Hesiod*: *Theogony* (Oxford, 1966) 264.

In the Fourth *Eclogue*, a *puer* is about to be born. The new age will come into being simultaneously with the successful nurture of this *puer*, as he progresses from infancy (*ipsa tibi blandos fundent cunabula flores*, 23) to young adulthood:

at simul heroum laudes et facta parentis
iam legere et quae sit poteris cognoscere virtus . . . (*Ec*. 4.26-27)

The rule of Apollo (*tuus iam regnat Apollo*, 10) may allude to the protection of the *puer* for which Hesiod's Apollo-*anax* shares responsibility with the river-nymphs. An integral part of the child's physical nurture is, of course, its education. (The nymphs of the Fourth *Georgic*, it might be noted, to some extent participate in bringing to completion the education of Apollo's son Aristaeus. Their particular involvement in this activity is found at the beginning of the Aristaeus episode, where they advise Aristaeus' distracted mother of her son's lament beside the river.)

Apollo's significance for the new age expands further, however, in the *Georgics*. This expanded significance, moreover, proves in retrospect to be particularly applicable to the original prophecy of the Fourth *Eclogue*, even though it was not there explicit. I refer to Apollo's role as a god of healing, and conversely to his ability to inflict illness, such as the plague he inflicts on the Greeks at the beginning of the *Iliad*.[6] Apollo first appears in the *Georgics* at the beginning of the third book, which is concerned with the care and breeding of livestock, as *pastor ab Amphryso* (*G*. 3.2). This book will conclude with a plague raging among the herds, a plague which no mortal can alleviate.

Apollo's son, Aristaeus, first appears in the proem to the first *Georgic*, and again in the fourth *Georgic*. In the first *Georgic*, he is invoked as a pastoral figure who successfully freed the island of Ceos from a plague brought on by an unusually hot autumn.[7] The plague in the third *Georgic* was also brought on *toto autumni aestu* (*G*. 3.479).

Apollo is again invoked at the beginning of the fourth *Georgic*:

At tenuis non gloria, si quem
numina laeva sinunt auditque vocatus Apollo. (*G*. 4.6-7)

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[6] Apollo first came to Rome, it should be noted, as a god of healing. A temple was erected to him after the plague of 433 B.C. cf. Wissowa, *RK*[2] 293 ff.; Latte *RR* 221 ff.; J. Fontenrose, *Python* (Berkeley 1959) 326-327; 381; J. Gagé, *Apollo Romain* (Paris, 1955).

[7] Cf. Serv. *ad G*. 1.14-15.

At the close of this book, his son will learn how to bring to an end another plague, the *morbus* which has destroyed his bees. Aristaeus incites his mother to avail him of the healing art partly by questioning his own paternity:

Si modo quem perhibes pater est Thymbraeus Apollo. (*G.* 4.323)

Implicit in Aristaeus' challenge is the assumption that he, as the son of this god, not only should have inherited the opportunity for eventual apotheosis, but also that he should have inherited some degree of ability in the healing art.

While the fourth *Georgic* contains an account of Aristaeus' success, the third begins with Apollo in the aftermath of the destruction of his son, Aesculapius. Apollo here expiates, through servitude to Admetus, his own violent acts after Aesculapius had been killed for bringing the dead back to life. The plague at the end of this book, moreover, is characterized by pale Tisiphone's successful emergence into the light of day from the shadows of the underworld:

in lucem Stygiis emissa tenebris
pallida Tisiphone morbos agit ante metumque. (*G.* 3.551-52)[8]

The plague at the close of the third *Georgic*, as Otis has shown, is structurally symmetrical to the destructive civil war at the close of the first *Georgic*.[9] For Vergil, as for Catullus and Horace, the most destructive kind of sickness was that which drove men to destroy one another and, worst of all, to destroy their own kin in civil war. The golden age of the Fourth *Eclogue* will be brought to an end by the *vestigia* of the crime of Romulus, which all Romans have inherited, and which itself can be traced back to the deception of Laomedon (*Ec.* 4.13, 31; *G.* 1.501-2). The poet, even while he celebrates in this *Eclogue* a new treaty which stirs a hope for an end to this terror, is haunted by those ancestral *vestigia*. Vergil accepts the inevitability that they will undermine the new age of the Fourth *Eclogue*. In the *Georgics*, however, he directs the farmer to withstand their destructive power when possible, and when he cannot, to heal the wounds inflicted by their unleashed fury.

[8] The direct antithesis to Tisiphone's emergence is found in the next book, where Eurydice, on the very brink of emerging, fails to do so: *Eurydicenque suam iam luce sub ipsa . . . respexit.* (*G.* 4.490-91). Regarding Vergil's rejection of the idea of resurrection, see Johnston, *TAPA* 107 (1977) 161-72 and references there.

[9] B. Otis, Virgil: *A Study in Civilized Poetry* (Oxford 1964) 144 ff.

Apollo's significance for the golden age of the *Georgics* lies in his capacity as the healing god, the capacity in which he first came to Rome, four centuries earlier. His presence in the *Georgics* is a subtle one. We first glimpse his healing power through the invocation of his son, Aristaeus, in the proem to the first *Georgic*. When Apollo himself appears at the beginning of the third *Georgic*, he is being punished for his reaction to the punishment of another son, Aesculapius, who exceeded the bounds of his healing art by bringing the dead back to life. At the close of the third *Georgic*, too, we see a plague such as the great physicians Chiron (the son of Saturnus, cf. *G.* 3.92-94) and Melampus are incapable of treating with their art. A limit has been placed on mortal arts, which even Apollo is forced to acknowledge at the beginning of this book. Subject to those restrictions, however, mortals can develop their skills to great heights, can even achieve deification through their persistence and innovation. This indeed is the basis upon which Aristaeus anticipates deification for himself:

> quid me caelum sperare iubebas?
> an etiam hunc ipsum vitae mortalis honorem,
> quem mihi vix frugum et pecudum custodia sollers
> omnia temptanti extuderat . . . (*G.* 4.325-28)

At this point in the poem, Aristaeus has not in fact tried *omnia*: he may be the master farmer, but there is one more art he must learn, and in the process he also learns an even more important lesson: how to heal the wounds that he, as farmer, has inevitably inflicted upon nature. The farmer's lessons are thus cumulative: he masters the arts of the past, and simultaneously he uncovers new arts to add to the received tradition. Some things remain beyond his control, however, such as the civil war raging at the close of the first *Georgic*, and the plague raging at the close of the third. Those few mortals who can deal with these destructive forces, on the other hand, clearly tread the path to divinity: *viam adfectat Olympo* (*G.* 4.562). When the *morbus* has finally abated, the farmer can apply his restorative art to the ravaged fields, and ultimately to the ravaged society. By exercising and further developing his powers, he too may aspire to deification. Earlier generations of deities, meanwhile, will support and sustain the bold undertakings of the new generation of farmers, who in turn will transform war-torn fields into billowing plains of golden wheat.

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